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IN THIS ISSUE

Page

AL:

n Over Europe Again? ... 2

And Leadership in War-time ... 5

M. A. Venkata Rao ...

ds Lead to Alignment ... 8

M. N. Tholal ...

MIC SUPPLEMENT I-IV

ETTER:

on Into Surrender ... 11

review ... 13

s from the Press ... 14

ad Views ... 14

PRICE
25
NAYA PAISA

ONE MAN OVER EUROPE AGAIN?

DE GAULLE'S antics in European politics remind one of the methods of Hitler who, in the beginning of the thirties of this century, rode to power in Germany literally over the ashes of the Third Reich. 'National Socialism,' was the ideology that he preached. His slogan was 'Aryanisation of the whole of Europe' which meant that the Continent should come under the rule of the Germans who, he thought, belonged to a superior race of Aryans. Jew-baiting was the means by which he injected the German Nation with the virus of racialism. The result was the Second World War, which destroyed the flower of the youth of Germany, France, England and Italy in Western Europe and brought rack and ruin to Europe and Russia. This demon of Nazism was supposed to have been crushed and buried many fathoms deep by the heroic efforts put forth unitedly by the democratic forces of the world.

Towards the close of the war in 1945, the Allies including Russia declared Fascist totalitarianism should not be given any more quarter in Europe. The Atlantic charter was drawn up defining the fundamental Freedoms of the peoples of the world and exhorting all the countries to stand firmly by them. But the times, as experience has proved, were not ripe for the Charter principles to be fully implemented by the declarants particularly Red countries. Stalin almost immediately began propagating the idea of 'Red Domination Over Europe'. Under the influence of this all-consuming passion to paint Europe Red, Russia forcibly brought the Eastern European Nations under her heels. Alarmed at this Red expansionism, the Western European powers including England, already exhausted by the devastation wrought on them by the war, tried to pull themselves together with the Marshall Aid of U.S.A. which came in all its spontaneity out of a sincere desire on the part of U.S. to save Europe and the world for Democracy and Freedom. Side by side with this economic aid, NATO military alliance was also forged for the same purpose. For the time being, it appeared that Red Imperialism which was making 'Westward Ho' was halted at West Berlin. Recently the Cuban affair had also shown to the Red Imperialists the strong and deterrent nuclear arm of the Free World headed by America and the firm determination of the latter to protect its own free way of life from the Red menace. This hope grew brighter with the successful working of the European Economic Community in the late fifties. The Six only required, it was thought, one more addition to their fold to complete the well-drawn-out picture

of Western Europe's effective solidarity against Red Imperialism. And England was to be an additional Seventh Member of the E.E.C. England, therefore, on her own part, carrying protracted negotiations with the Six for over sixteen months for getting admission to the E.E.C. as a full-fledged member.

Hope Shattered

But just when that much-desired unity of E.E.C. was in sight and was well achieved with the goodwill and sympathy of the majority of member nations, it was blown sky-high and shattered to pieces by another 'ONE MAN' who wants to dominate Europe in the Sixties. And he is no other than De Gaulle, the all-powerful President of France who is fast enacting the twentieth century Napoleon on the stage of continental politics.

The aims and objects of this new Saviour of France and Europe have been succinctly stated by him in his statement issued on January 1963. It is now clear that he wants to lead Europe not forwards to international democracy and cohesion but backwards to the pre-war mental HOLY ALLIANCE against the Anglo-Saxon axis of England and America. He preaches the urgent necessity for the Free Nations to strengthen the links and ties of interdependence for common trade, commerce and industry which have been built up with so much pain and labour, over years in the post-war period. His quixotic mind visualises a united Europe of democratic and communist countries under the inspired leadership, which could live alone without the aid of America and England. The contempt that Napoleon conceived for England, the then leading nation in world trade and commerce, has seized the mind of this super-Napoleon of France today. In his run-away enthusiasm for restoring to France her lost glory, he is deliberately blind to the danger threatening the very existence of the European Community of which France is a founder-member.

Not only that. He seems to be intent on blasting out the very foundations of the European Community and is swiftly moving in that direction. The Franco-German treaty signed by him and the German Chancellor Adenauer, which was signed with such loud blowing of trumpets and beating of drums, has only proved itself an objective analysis to be a sinister threat to the members of E.E.C. that if they did not move in line with these two powerful nations, they would be simply left behind on the road-side and would be compelled in the end to come under

domination of the latter in political and economic sphere. He is also reported to be wooing General Franco, the dictator of Spain to join in this grand alliance which will be a challenge to the NATO alliance led by U.S.A and U.K. How dangerously close comes this game of power-politics played by De Gaulle to the fascist way of thinking could be seen from the hatred he is whipping up against the influence wielded by England and America over Europe. He is suspected of entertaining some queer notions of continental pattern of being and thinking as distinct from that of the Anglo-Saxon nations. He is trying to give a racial bias to this artificial conflict which he is deliberately creating between Western Europe and Anglo-American overseas free countries.

Will Europe Call De Gaulle's Bluff?

But the lessons of history of the last war, we hope, will not be lost on the European nations, particularly France and Germany. The freedom-loving sections of the population of these two countries are reported to have been visibly shaken and dazed at these antics of De Gaulle. The Franco-German friendship which at the outset was held out to be a historic event, has lost much of its glow, glamour and grace due to De Gaulle's mischievous attempt to enter into a similar military pact with Franco, the Spanish dictator to dislodge the American influence from that country. On the top of this also comes the alarming news that this Messiah of Europe right after the Hitler style has even sent some feelers to Russia about the possibility of a rapprochement between France and Russia, as in his view Russia, a European country, is bound to gravitate towards Europe more than towards the Asiatic country of China, in the context of the present ideological conflict going on between the two Red countries.

Thus De Gaulle's political philosophy and practice closely resemble Nazism in their belief in the glorious destiny of France and in Gaulle's own role as the Saviour of France and Europe, in continental chauvinism, political opportunism and racial arrogance. De Gaulle the Messiah, Franco the Feudal dictator, Khrushchev the prophet of Red totalitarianism may well come together with their common reactionary totalitarian ideas and ideals.

The Five of the E.E.C. at least till now, have not fully gone over to De Gaulle's continental bluster and balderdash. Happily they are still doggedly fighting for saving the NATO alliance and the European Community from a complete break-down and are hoping to bring about a fuller understanding and co-operation between Western Europe on the one hand and England and America on the other.

Whether Europe will have again 'ONE MAN' over her or whether she will continue as of yore to be the great sentinel of World Democratic Freedom will be fatefully decided in the

future by the extent to which the other nations of the European community will be able to resist this pressure of De Gaulle's dangerous power-politics on them.

ENGLISH CANNOT BE SUPPRESSED

The Hindi and regional language patriots will receive a rude shock at the news that English is again coming into its own in schools and colleges of Gujarat. The linguistic fanatics there had banked on their ability to brow-beat the Central Government into submission to their will. They tried in vain to get the Centre to amend the Constitution for this purpose so as to deny the right of a minority to receive education through a medium other than Hindi or the regional language. The Supreme Court decision went against the Gujarat University which challenged such a right. The Gujarat University has now been made to eat the humble pie and it has now reverted to the English medium and given it an honoured place along with Hindi and Gujarati as a medium of instruction.

In the meanwhile, it is also reported from Madras that in difference to the insistent public demand for English medium schools, the Madras Government has also adumbrated a new scheme under which every district will have at least one High School having English as the medium of instruction. This step is also expected to meet the special educational needs of children whose

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parents come from outside. Digitized by eGangotri Foundation, Government, sound, economic and political policies. Fanciful planning which brings in its wake an all-pervading inflation will not succeed in bringing down the prices of gold for any considerable length of time. For, gold prices must catch up eventually with the general inflationary trends. Therefore what is needed to meet the foreign exchange crisis is a sound economic and monetary policy that will give the people an honest Rupee and stabilise the prices. It must be remembered that a Yellow peril from the North of Himalayas could not be successfully met on the financial side by creating a yellow metal crisis within the country in the south.

All these trends clearly point out how English holds the field successfully even against the regional languages by its intrinsic merit as a window to the outside world and as a language of modern science, enlightenment and culture. Its serviceability in uniting the intelligentsia of all States and in spreading national consciousness among the diverse peoples of India could be ignored only at our peril. It is a happy sign of the times that rational and sane public opinion is asserting itself vigorously in such matters vitally affecting the future of our country and her rising generation.

D. M. Kulkarni.

THE YELLOW METAL CRISIS

The redoubtable Finance Minister Morarji Desai was formerly known to be a 'kill-joy' Minister in the Bombay State. He is never tired of priding himself on his being a true disciple of Mahatma Gandhi. The little joys and pleasures of life such as racing, drinking, or normal sexual life are for him taboo. And now he has thought it fit to come down with a heavy hand on the people's traditional love for the 22 carat gold ornaments in the hope that this yellow metal in the possession of the people in quantities small and big, will find its way into the Government vaults and will help the Government to tide over the foreign exchange crisis all the more accentuated by the Yellow peril to India's freedom and security.

The 14 carat rule applied to gold ornaments will not bring in any appreciable measure the gold hoardings of the people into the Government coffers but will only usher in, a flourishing black market in gold with all its attendant evils of middle-men, smugglers and wide-spread corruption in the Government circles in the same way that the discredited prohibition policy of the Government has done. Already it is reported that a major portion of hoarded gold has been transferred from the open market to the black one. The gold racketeers are said to be looking forward to a boom period when people will be too willing to buy 22 carat gold secretly even for a prohibitive price. The people will be after gold all the same, since they need it not only for the purpose of making ornaments of unalloyed gold but also for the purpose of safely investing their money in this yellow metal. And the common people could not be surely blamed for this love for and belief in gold when they see that almost all the Governments of the world including our own, covet gold so much and look upon it as a stable and reliable standard of value. Naturally therefore the people value gold more than the Government Gold Bonds though the latter offer higher rates of interest and promise immunity to the investors in these Bonds from Governmental enquiry about the sources of their gold-hoards.

The people could be made to part with their gold only out of patriotism kindled into them by

FOOD FOR THOUGHT

"Throughout history orators and poets have extolled Liberty but no one has told us why Liberty is so important. In any advancing society any restriction on Liberty reduces the number of things tried and reduces the rate of progress. In such a society freedom of action is granted to the individual, not because it gives him greater satisfaction but because, if allowed to go his own way, he will on the average serve the rest of us better than any orders we know how to give".

—H. B. Phillips.

"In a world of independent nations the threat of war will disappear only when citizens control their government, arbitrariness has disappeared, free elections and a free press operate and decisions are reached only through the slow-moving democratic procedure. When Liberal Democracy has replaced authoritarianism, who works for Liberty at home or abroad, works also for peace".

—Massimo Salvadori.

"It is the conscious Conservative with his respect for patriotism, his ingrained suspicion of revolutionary short-cuts, his feeling for history and consciousness for the lessons of the past, his root-and-branch rejection of economic collectivism, who is firmest in his opposition to the greatest contemporary threat to Liberty—Communism. He could be trusted to die fighting against a communist take-over, while the average Socialist or modern style Liberal would be more likely to sigh—and submit."

—W. H. Chamberlin.

"THE PERIL TO LIBERTY TODAY COMES FROM THE LEFT, FROM SOVIET AND CHINESE COMMUNISM".

—William Chamberlin.

"THE NATION WHICH CAN BE SAVED BY ONE MAN AND WANTS TO BE SAVED THAT WAY DESERVES A WHIPPING."

—Seume.

Morale And Leadership In War-time

By M. A. VENKATA RAO

The Colombo Proposals do not secure for us a clearance of the Chinese forces from September 8 line. Granted that national interests require their acceptance for the time being, national morale could be maintained by giving a clear understanding to the people that this yielding is only for the purpose of gaining time. Today the leadership is on trial and has to prove that it can rise to the situation in all dimensions—military, economic diplomatic, psychological.

THE shock of the defeats sustained by our forces in the Northeast Frontier Agency areas in October last roused the nation to the reality of the danger confronting it in the present tangle of international relations. There may be some sort of order and justice inside each nation but as between nation and nation, even as yet in mid-twentieth century in spite of the oceans of learning and mountains of scientific achievements developed by advanced peoples in the past centuries of the modern period, there is no rule of law, no institutions for the making, interpreting and enforcing of law.

Mr. Krishna Menon argued in the United Nations some time ago that no written enactment defining aggression could be passed and agreed to by member nations. His reason was that aggression is a complex and many-sided event that could not be legally defined unambiguously enough to pin down responsibility on the law-breaker.

Of course this is a quibble giving unreal force to an illusory difficulty. The definition required need not be refined enough to satisfy mathematical logic. It is enough if it is sufficiently clear to be recognisable by nations. Today, China claims to be the victim of Indian aggression on the sophistical ground that the areas claimed by her in the Indian borders belonged to her through Tibet. This claim is quite capable of verification through historical and traditional evidence.

An impartial court of law could certainly arrive at just conclusions about the dispute between India and China.

But the real difficulty is whether we could find a sufficient number of national judges capable of strict impartiality as between the two contending nations. For the rivalry between the Russian and Chinese power bloc of international communism of the one hand and the free world led by the United States of America on the other has become world-wide because of the ambition of international communism to cover the whole world with their communist hegemony.

In the absence of an impartial tribunal to try this case between India and China, even if China were willing to abide by the award of

such a tribunal, India has to adopt the well-tried policies of armed preparedness and a system of alliances of varying degrees of commitments with and to other nations willing to enter into such alliances.

The awakened determination of the people to restore the lost national prestige and to make permanent arrangements for national security in the future can be maintained only by a policy adopted by Government that bids fair to fulfil these national objectives, that is, of honour and security.

It is in this light that we have to consider the endorsement of Parliament of the proposal of the Government to enter into Peace Negotiations and Talks as suggested by the Colombo Powers.

The Colombo proposals do not secure for us a clearance of the Chinese forces from the line occupied by them on 8 September as demanded by our Government in previous declarations. It is not clear whether the enemy will permit India to reoccupy the areas voluntarily vacated by them from December 1, 1962. It is reported on the contrary that they remain in some numbers even in Tawang, Dhola and Longju.

They have no intention of retreating from any line held by them in Ladakh areas all the way from Sinkiang to North Jammu. The Colombo Powers have asked the Chinese to withdraw 12½ miles from their present line of control. But they have not agreed.

With characteristic diplomacy (which means duplicity in this context) the Chinese ministers have assured Mrs. Sirimavo that they have made a positive response, reserving only some points for further decision or alteration! It means that they mean disagreement by their words of agreement! They mean "no" when they say "yes!"

That means that India will meet the Chinese victors face to face at the negotiating table—with what face after our crushing military defeats! We do not envy the officers of ministers who will be entrusted with that odious job. After our brave declarations that we shall not negotiate till they clear out of our sacred soil, we have to eat humble pie and meet them at the table and take tea with them and exchange

smiles! This is more than human nature can bear. Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri.

But let us grant that national interest demands that we endure this agony and humiliation and dishonour.

The maintenance of morale in these circumstances requires that the nation should be given clearly to understand that this yielding is **only for purposes of gaining time** so that we might complete our military preparations from A to Z in the meantime.

The nation should be given to understand that when we are ready, **militarily**—in manpower, equipment, supplies and **diplomatically** by way of the help of friendly nations, we shall take resolute action to remove this danger from the Chinese once for all.

This means that all the various steps involved in such a policy of preparedness are taken in hand at once—**begun** effectively, though effects will no doubt take some time to materialise.

This time our defeat was largely due to the fact that we were unprepared to use our air force to attack the enemy when he was assembling his forces and equipment in the hinterland. We were afraid of **retaliation** on our forces and our cities and railways and transports etc.

The people should see that we are providing against this contingency in the next round. It may be that in the first phase we have to rely on the air forces of friendly countries. If Russia objects, we have only to ask her also to send us her air force contingents to resist the enemy Chinese!

If they cannot, owing to their alliance with their brother China, well, we can only ask that **our friend Russia** will let us defend ourselves with the help of other friends, to which she can have no objection if she means well by us! **Non-alignment** should not become **an engine of isolation** to keep us weak and a helpless prey to China!

A knowledge that our government is proceeding this way to provide air defence will strengthen our morale immensely. It will maintain the confidence of the people in the wisdom and capacity of the government to lead them to victory and to secure their future.

Democratic leadership is different in **kind** from dictatorship. In a dictatorship, policy is made in secret by a small group of leaders or by the supreme leader by himself alone and acquiesced in by his immediate colleagues, and followers. It is then put into practice. The policy in full is not explained to the people. Its consequences are explained, particularly the **duties** of the people flowing therefrom. The how and why of the policy will remain a secret from the people.

The people will have to follow the directions of the governing group out of a blind habit of obedience, out of **faith** in their leader and his

destiny. This is irrational and unworthy of grown-up men and women.

The personality cult that even Khrushchev found so obnoxious in Stalin and which he castigated so mordantly in the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party in 1956 is inherent in all dictatorships. So Khrushchev himself was obliged to secure adherence to his line by a fresh interpretation of Leninist doctrines and clothing this policy (framed in view of the current world crisis) in the garb of Leninist "theology".

The Leninist doctrine of **democratic centralism** in party organisation recognises the limitation of individual discussion and contribution in free group thinking and holds the field as against the democratic theory and practice of rational opinion-making in free group-contact and inter-personal relations and free interaction of ideas.

In the communist party, the top leaders lay down the policy based on their application of Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism to the current situation. Then they send their explanation of their point of view down the line of control to secure the intelligent understanding of the membership of lower committee and echelons. The lower committees have no power to react and send up their own version. They have no right to contribute to policy. They have but to obey mechanically. The centre will change the office-bearers below if they refuse to tow the line!

In this process, the word **centralism** is more vital and decisive than the word **democratic**.

But in a democratic party, leadership crystallises opinion from the grass-roots. No level is excluded from contribution. Conclusions are held subject to revision in the light of experience and fresh developments. The goal of policy is common good in any particular area of social life. The means that will secure such common good may differ with a change in circumstances. Policy will reflect group-thinking in democratic discussion to which every member should be free to contribute his experience and ideas. The result will then represent **everyone's mind** and not particularly any **one person's mind**. The democratic leader is he who is specially gifted to **arvine** and seize the imperfectly expressed **beliefs** and ideas and feelings of members and to give it clearer and more radiant expression. Members will see in such expression their own views more clearly and effectively expressed. Ideas then will obtain hands and feet, for clear expression is the necessary prelude to effective action. It becomes a lure to action.

In the situation India finds herself in today, China is likely to remain a permanent danger **so long as she remains in Tibet**.

It is not enough if she withdraws even more completely from our areas, even to the line of 15 August 1947 i.e. the Indian borders sanctified by history, treaties and tradition.

For she can accumulate forces and equipment, develop communications, arsenals, food depots, missile launching platforms and all the dread paraphernalia of twentieth century war, (conventional and even nuclear) on the roof of the world. Her bombing planes will be within a few hours' striking range of Indian cities!

Her missiles will have our cities and projects at her absolute mercy..

Every newspaper reader knows all this. Morale can be maintained in the face of this dread knowledge only **if the citizens know that their government have quietly and finally put away their childish inheritance of Gandhian non-violence** and pacifist resistance, which are futile and perilous gestures today. Morale will be maintained only if we know that we have understandings with Britain, America, Australia, New Zealand, Canada etc. that they will help us to arm a vastly bigger army navy and air force on lend lease or long term credit without interest (or) and as pure gifts as part of the expense of defending the free world.

In defending Indian borders we are defending the free world against aggressors of all kinds. We need not proclaim that the aggressors apart from China are likely to be Communist States or Arab States or **any one in particular**. It is enough if we know a firm and unyielding determination to protect **our own borders** by land and sea, in the air and under the sea.

We may call it a **pact** or not. The West is wise and understanding enough not to insist on names and shibboleths. They are satisfied with **substance** and care not for outward form.

For dealing with the Chinese menace on a permanent footing, it is necessary to persuade China to **demilitarise Tibet**, even if they retain political and administrative control of the unfortunate country. If China does not agree, we should maintain forces enough near our northern borders to **deter the Chinese dragon** from attacking us again in the hope of an easy walk-over. **Only if we know** that we have some such understanding and have set such preparations in train can morale be maintained naturally without intimidation and dictatorship. Patriotic intelligence will suffice. Today it is the leadership that is on trial and have to convince the people that they are capable of rising to the height of the situation in all relevant dimensions—military, economic, diplomatic and psychological.

RICH PEOPLE HAVE GIVEN MOST, FICCI SAYS

NEW DELHI:

The Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry says about 75 to 80 per cent of total contributions to the Indian Defence Fund has come from the well-to-do and business classes.

In a Press communique, the Federation has convincingly contradicted certain reports that contributions to NDF by the well-to-do classes generally and the business community in particular have been on the low side.

According to the Federation, the reports are based on incorrect information and "some seem to be motivated by a desire to belittle the massive participation by certain sections of the community . . . and to drive a wedge in the ranks of the people."

The Federation communique says only 11 lists of contributions to the NDF have so far been issued by the Government amounting to about Rs. 8.6 crores.

The lists are in respect of contributions of Rs. 1,000 and above and do not include those made in the first instance to the branch accounts of the Fund at State headquarters. The total of all contributions up to the time of the eleventh list came to Rs. 31.60 crores.

UNPUBLISHED LISTS

The lists of contributions to State headquarters are not being published. But some Chief Ministers have said the bulk of contributions has been by the well-to-do classes and businessmen.

In one or two cases, they have mentioned that contributions by the well-to-do classes have been about 80 per cent.

The Federation has therefore asked the Government to publish these lists, also, so that public has a full picture before it.

The Federation had decided on its own that all business concerns, whether companies, private or public, or managing agency houses, should contribute a minimum of 5 per cent of their net profits to the NDF.

Business houses have and are making contributions on this basis, and even on a most conservative reckoning their contributions would amount to about Rs. 16 crores.

According to the Federation, another misconception on the part of the public is that contributions by the business community are entirely from the profits of their companies.

The communique says this is only partly correct because contributions by companies mean contributions by shareholders who, by and large, belong to well-to-do classes.

Moreover, managing agents, investment companies and trading companies are also contributing according to the formula laid down by the Federation, and so also are businessmen from their own personal resources.

"The way to have good and safe government is not to trust all to one, but divide it among the many, distributing it to everyone exactly the functions he is competent to do. What has destroyed liberty and rights of man in every government which has ever existed under the Sun? The generalising and concentrating all cares into one body, no matter whether of the autocrats of Russia or France or of the aristocrats of a Venetian Senate."

—Jafferson.

All Roads Lead To Alignment

By M. N. THOLAL

The expert opinion of General Thimayya vs. the wishful Thinking of Mehtab?—American expert opinion favours an air umbrella to be provided by U.S.A., U.K. and allies to protect our Indian cities and vital installations from air attack—Our seeking aerial defence aid from these countries does not indicate success of Nonalignment as claimed by Nehru.

In his reply to the debate on the Colombo proposals in the Lok Sabha, Prime Minister Nehru said that India, as constituted today, would not submit to any dishonour, whatever the consequences, in dealing with the Chinese. "That time," he declared amidst cheers, "is past and a new India has arisen which cannot and will not submit to any aggression." Submitting to aggression is not a matter of the will of the people alone; it is also a matter of the strength of the people, of their military strength. One of our greatest military experts—I am not referring to Mr. Menon but to Gen. Thimayya—has estimated that the Chinese are three hundred times stronger than we, doubtless as a result of Russian military aid. Assuming that his estimate was exaggerated, it would be very unwise on the part of any one to say that it is exaggerated beyond all proportion and that the Chinese are not even a hundred times stronger than we.

Mr. Nehru himself in one of his speeches in November last referred to the huge military reservoirs in Tibet at the disposal of the Chinese Army and to the country's huge military machine. As against these pronouncements is the heroic declaration of Mr. Harekrushna Mehtab in Parliament on January 24 last: "I do not admit that the Chinese are more powerful than ourselves. We can defeat China by building up our strength." That is the crux of the question. Whom to believe—Gen. Thimayya or Mr. Hare Krushna Mehtab? If to that is added the rider that optimism in the matter of defence leads to disasters, there can be no doubt about the answer to the question.

On the answer to that question depends the soundness or unsoundness of our policy of non-alignment. If Gen. Thimayya is right, as every one except a wishful thinker must believe, then the policy of non-alignment is not only unpatriotic. It is also suicidal. Of course, there is no reason why we should take Gen. Thimayya for our final authority. Mr. Nehru can take the opinions of other Generals, who, incidentally have not been keeping their opinions on the subject a closely-guarded secret, and he will find that their opinions will be more or less the same as those of Gen. Thimayya.

AMERICAN EXPERT OPINION

For one thing, we are almost without air protection. A PTI message date-lined New

Delhi, Jan. 24, informed us that a joint U.S.-Commonwealth air defence mission is arriving in India on Jan. 29 at the invitation of the Indian Government to examine with the Indian Air Force the problem and technical requirements involved in organising effective air defence of India's northern border and cities against Chinese aggression. It is learnt that the examination of air defence is likely to be in terms of an "air umbrella" to be provided by the U.S., U.K., Canada and Australia to Indian cities and vital installations against possible air attack by the Chinese in the event of renewal of Chinese aggression. It is felt in Delhi that for India itself to raise the necessary air squadrons with the aid of the western powers, to provide air protection, will involve expenditure beyond its means, running to several billions of pounds. It will mean acquisition of aircraft, familiarisation with the techniques and training of personnel in considerable strength, beyond the realm of practicability, and the idea has therefore been ruled out as a practical proposition.

The visiting mission, the message proceeds, is therefore likely to address itself to the task of examining the question of organising ground facilities, installation of radars and other technical requirements for a massive defence air force. In the event of Chinese aggression the friendly countries could provide the "air umbrella" by utilizing these facilities with a view to protecting Indian cities and defence installations, and intercept Chinese aircraft. Such an umbrella will, it is thought, act as a deterrent against massive invasion by the Chinese. The mission is also likely to examine the question of equipping and augmenting the Indian air force for tactical purposes.

Mr. Mehtab is bound to disagree with these suggestions, alarming in their implications both regarding our preparedness and our capacity for the same. And is that how our non-alignment is to progress? In that case we should have no objection even to non-alignment. It may be added here that this PTI message has not been contradicted by the Government, although it appeared several days ago.

Non-alignment has indeed been progressing by leaps and bounds. The **Hindustan Times** Washington Correspondent cabled on January 25: Evaluating the rival claims of interception and deterrence, to offer Indian cities the

(Continued on Page 9)

ECONOMIC SUPPLEMENT

"Planning" vs. The Free Market

By HENRY HAZLITT

When we discuss "economic planning," we must be clear concerning what it is we are talking about. The real question being raised is not: plan or no plan? but **whose** plan?

Each of us, in his private capacity, is constantly planning for the future: what he will do the rest of today, the rest of the week, or on the weekend; what he will do this month or next year. Some of us are planning, though in a more general way, ten or twenty years ahead.

We are making these plans both in our capacity as consumers and as producers. Employees are either planning to stay where they are, or to shift from one job to another, or from one company to another, or from one city to another, or even from one career to another. Entrepreneurs are either planning to stay in one location or to move to another, to expand or contract their operations, to stop making a product for which they think demand is dying and to start making one for which they think demand is going to grow.

Now the people who call themselves "Economic Planners" either ignore or by implication deny all this. They talk as if the world of private enterprise, the free market, supply, demand, and competition, were a world of chaos and anarchy, in which nobody ever planned ahead or looked ahead, but merely drifted or staggered along. I once engaged in a television debate with an eminent Planner in a high official position who implied that without his forecasts and guidance American business would be "flying blind." At best, the Planners imply, the world of private enterprise is one in which everybody works or plans at cross purposes or makes his plans solely in his "private" interest rather than in the "public" interest.

Now the Planner wants to substitute his **own** plan for the plans of everybody else. At best, he wants the **government** to lay down a Master Plan to which everybody else's plan must be subordinated.

It Involves Compulsion

It is this aspect of Planning to which our attention should be directed: Planning always involves **compulsion**. This may be disguised in various ways. The government Planners will, of course, try to persuade people that the Master Plan has been drawn up for their own good, and

that the only persons who are going to be coerced are those whose plans are "not in the public interest."

The Planners will say, in the newly fashionable phraseology, that their plans are not "imperative," but merely "indicative." They will make a great parade of "democracy," freedom, co-operation, and noncompulsion by "consulting all groups"—"Labor," "Industry," the Government, even "Consumers Representatives"—in drawing up the Master Plan and the specific "goals" or "targets." Of course, if they could really succeed in giving everybody his proportionate weight and voice and freedom of choice, if everybody were allowed to pursue the plan of production or consumption of specific goods and services that he had intended to pursue or would have pursued anyway, then the whole Plan would be useless and pointless, a complete waste of energy and time. The Plan would be meaningful only if it forced the **production** and **consumption** of **different** things or different quantities of things than a free market would have provided. In short, it would be meaningful only insofar as it put compulsion on **somebody** and forced some change in the pattern of production and consumption.

There are two excuses for this coercion. One is that the free market produces the **wrong** goods, and that only government Planning and direction could assure the production of the "right" ones. This is the thesis popularized by J. K. Galbraith. The other excuse is that the free market does not produce **enough** goods, and that only government Planning could speed things up. This is the thesis of the apostles of "economic growth."

The "Five-Year Plans"

Let us take up the "Galbraith" thesis first. I put this name in quotation marks because the thesis long antedates his presentation of it. It is the basis of all the communist "Five-Year Plans" which are now aped by a score of socialist nations. While these Plans may consist in setting out some general "overall" percentage of production increase, their characteristic feature is rather a whole network of specific "targets" for specific industries: there is to be a 25 per cent increase in steel capacity, a 15 per cent increase in cement production, a 12 per cent increase in butter and milk output, and so forth.

There is always a strong bias in these Plans, especially in the communist countries, in favor of heavy industry, because it gives increased power to make war. In all the Plans, however, even in noncommunist countries, there is a strong bias in favor of industrialization of heavy industry as against agriculture, in the belief that this necessarily increases real income faster and leads to greater national self-sufficiency. It is not an accident that such countries are constantly running into agricultural crises and food famines.

But the Plans also reflect either the implied or explicit moral judgments of the government Planners. The latter seldom plan for an increased production of cigarettes or whisky, or, in fact, for any so-called "luxury" item. The standards are always grim and puritanical. The word "austerity" makes a chronic appearance. Consumers are told that they must "tighten their belts" for a little longer. Sometimes, if the last Plan has not been too unsuccessful, there is a little relaxation: consumers can, perhaps, have a few more motor cars and hospitals and playgrounds. But there is almost never any provision for, say, more golf courses or even bowling alleys. In general, no form of expenditure is approved that cannot be universalized, or at least "majoritized." And such so-called luxury expenditure is discouraged, even in a so-called "indicative" Plan, by not allowing access by promoters of such projects to bank credit or to the capital markets. At some point government coercion or compulsion comes into play.

"The Nation" Cannot Afford It

This disapproval and coercion may rest on several grounds. Nearly all "austerity" programs stem from the belief, not that the person who wants to make a "luxury" expenditure cannot afford it, but that "the nation" cannot afford it. This involves the assumption that, if I set up a bowling alley or patronize one, I am somehow depriving my fellow citizens of more necessary goods or services. This would be true only on the assumption that the proper thing to do is to tax my so-called surplus income away from me and turn it over to others in the form of money, goods, or services. But if I am allowed to keep my "surplus" income, and am forbidden to spend it on bowling alleys or on imported wine and cheese, I will spend it on something else that is not forbidden. Thus when the British austerity program after World War II prevented an Englishman from consuming imported luxuries, on the ground that "the nation" could not afford the "foreign exchange" or the "unfavorable balance of payments," officials were shocked to find that the money was being squandered on football pools or dog races. And there is no reason to suppose, in any case, that the "dollar shortage" or the "unfavorable balance of payments" was helped in the least. The austerity program, insofar as it was not enforced by higher income taxes, probably cut down po-

tential exports as much as it did potential imports; and insofar as it was enforced by higher income taxes, it discouraged exports by restricting and discouraging production.

But we come now to the specific Galbraith thesis, growing out of the age-long bureaucratic suspicion of luxury spending, that consumers generally do not know how to spend the income they have earned; that they buy whatever advertisers tell them to buy; that consumers are, in short, boobs and suckers, chronically wasting their money on trivialities, if not on absolute junk. The bulk of consumers also, if left to themselves, show atrocious taste, and crave cerise automobiles with ridiculous tailfins.

Bureaucratic Choice

The natural conclusion from all this—and Galbraith does not hesitate to draw it—is that consumers ought to be deprived of freedom of choice, and that government bureaucrats, full of wisdom—of course, of a very unconventional wisdom—should make their consumptive choices for them. The consumers should be supplied, not with what they themselves want, but with what bureaucrats of exquisite taste and culture think is good for them. And the way to do this is to tax away from people all the income they have been foolish enough to earn above that required to meet their bare necessities, and turn it over to the bureaucrats to be spent in ways in which the latter think would really do people the most good—more and better roads and parks and playgrounds and schools and television programs—all supplied, of course, by government.

And here Galbraith resorts to a neat semantic trick. The goods and services for which people voluntarily spend their own money make up, in his vocabulary, the "private sector" of the economy, while the goods and services supplied to them by the government, out of the income it has seized from them in taxes, make up the "public sector". Now the adjective "private" carries an aura of the selfish and exclusive, the inward-looking, whereas the adjective "public" carries an aura of the democratic, the shared, the generous, the patriotic, the outward-looking—in brief, the public-spirited. And as the tendency of the expanding welfare state has been, in fact to take out of private hands and more and more take into its own hands provision of the goods and services that are considered to be most essential and most edifying—roads and water supply, schools and hospitals and scientific research, education, old age insurance and medical care—the tendency must be increasingly to associate the word "public" with everything that is really necessary and laudable, leaving the "private sector" to be associated merely with the superfluities and capricious wants that are left over after everything that is really important has been taken care of.

If the distinction between the two "sectors" were put in more neutral terms—say, the "private sector" versus the "governmental sector," the scales would not be so heavily weighted in favour of the latter. In fact, this more neutral vocabulary would raise in the mind of the hearer the question whether certain activities now assumed by the modern welfare state do legitimately or appropriately come within the governmental province. For Galbraith's use of the word "sector," "private" or "public," cleverly carries the implication that the public "sector" is legitimately not only whatever the government has already taken over but a great deal besides. Galbraith's whole point is that the "public sector" is "starved" in favour of a "private sector" overstuffed with superfluities and trash.

Voluntary versus Coercive

The true distinction, and the appropriate vocabulary, however, would throw an entirely different light on the matter. What Galbraith calls the "private sector" of the economy is, in fact, the **voluntary** sector; and what he calls the "public sector" is, in fact, the **coercive** sector. The voluntary sector is made up of the goods and services for which people voluntarily spend the money they have earned. The coercive sector is made up of the goods and services that are provided, regardless of the wishes of the individual, out of the taxes that are seized from him. And as this sector grows at the expense of the voluntary sector, we come to the essence of the welfare state. In this state nobody pays for the education of his own children but everybody pays for the education of everybody else's children. Nobody pays his own medical bills, but everybody pays everybody else's medical bills. Nobody helps his own old parents, but everybody else's old parents. Nobody provides for the contingency of his own unemployment, his own sickness, his own old age, but everybody provides for the unemployment, sickness, or old age of everybody else. The welfare state, as Bastiat put it with uncanny clairvoyance more than a century ago, is the great fiction by which everybody tries to live at the expense of everybody else.

This is not only a fiction; it is bound to be a failure. This is sure to be the outcome whenever effort is separated from reward. When people who earn more than the average have their "surplus," or the greater part of it, seized from them in taxes, and when people who earn less than the average have the deficiency, or the greater part of it, turned over to them in hand-out and doles, the production of all must sharply decline; for the energetic and able lose their incentive to produce more than the average, and the slothful and unskilled lose their incentive to improve their condition.

The Growth Planners

I have spent so much time in analyzing the

fallacies of the Galbraithian school of economic Planners that I have left myself little in which to analyze the fallacies of the Growth Planners. Many of their fallacies are the same; but there are some important differences.

The chief difference is that the Galbraithians believe that a free market economy produces too much (though, of course, they are the "wrong" goods), whereas the Growthmen believe that a free market economy does not produce nearly enough. I will not here deal with all the statistical error, gaps, and fallacies in their arguments, though an analysis of these alone could occupy a fat book. I want to concentrate on their idea that some form of government direction or coercion can by some strange magic increase production above the level that can be achieved when everybody enjoys economic freedom.

For it seems to me self-evident that when people are free, production tends to be, if not maximized, at least optimized. This is because, in a system of free markets and private property, everybody's reward tends to equal the value of his production. What he gets for his production (and is allowed to keep) is in fact what it is worth in the market. If he wants to double his income in a single year, he is free to try—and may succeed if he is able to double his production in a single year. If he is content with the income he has—or if he feels that he can only get more by excessive effort or risk—he is under no pressure to increase his output. In a free market everyone is free to maximize his satisfactions, whether these consist in more leisure or in more goods.

But along comes the Growth Planner. He finds by statistics (whose trustworthiness and accuracy he never doubts) that the economy has been growing, say, only 2.8 per cent a year. He concludes, in a flash of genius, that a growth rate of 5 per cent a year would be faster. How does he propose to achieve this?

What Rate of Growth?

There is among the Growth Planners a profound mystical belief in the power of words. They declare that they "are not satisfied" with a growth rate of a mere 2.8 per cent a year; they demand a growth rate of 5 per cent a year. And once having spoken, they act as if half the job had already been done. If they did not assume this, it would be impossible to explain the deep earnestness with which they argue themselves whether the growthrate "ought" to be 4 or 5 or 6 per cent. (The only thing they always agree on is that it ought to be greater than whatever it actually is). Having decided on this magic overall figure, they then proceed either to set specific targets for specific goods (and here they are at one with the Russian Five-Year Planners) or to announce some general recipe for reaching the overall rate.

But why do they assume that setting their

magic target rate will increase the rate of production over the existing one? And how is their growth rate supposed to apply as far as the individual is concerned? Is the man who is already making \$50,000 a year to be coerced into working for an income of \$52,500 next year? Is the man who is making only \$5,000 a year to be forbidden to make more than \$5,250 next year? If not, what is gained by making a specific "annual growth rate" a governmental "target"? Why not just permit or encourage everybody to do his best, or make his own decision, and let the average "growth" be whatever it turns out to be?

The way to get a maximum rate of "economic growth"—assuming this to be our aim—is to give maximum encouragement to production, employment, saving, and investment. And the way to do this is to maintain a free market and a sound currency. It is to encourage profits, which must in turn encourage both investment and employment. It is to refrain from oppressive taxation that siphons away the funds that would otherwise be available for investment. It is to allow free wage rates that permit and encourage full employment. It is to allow free interest rates, which would tend to maximize saving and investment.

The Wrong Policies

The way to **slow down** the rate of economic growth is, of course, precisely the opposite of this. It is to discourage production, employment, saving, and investment by incessant interventions, controls, threats, and harassment. It is to frown upon profits, to declare that they are excessive, to file constant antitrust suits, to control prices by law or by threats, to levy confiscatory taxes that discourage new investment and siphon off the funds that make investment possible, to hold down interest rates artificially to the point where real saving is discouraged and malinvestment encouraged, to deprive employers of genuine freedom of bargaining, to grant excessive immunities and privileges to labor unions so that their demands are chronically excessive and chronically threaten unemployment—and then to try to offset all these policies by government spending, deficits, and monetary inflation. But I have just described precisely the policies that most of the fanatical Growthmen advocate.

Their recipe for inducing growth always turns out to be—inflation. This does lead to the illusion of growth, which is measured in their statistics in monetary terms. What the Growthmen do not realise is that the magic of inflation is always a short-run magic, and quickly played out. It can work temporarily and under special conditions—when it causes prices to rise faster than wages and so restores or expands profit margins. But this can happen only in the early stages of an inflation which is not expected to continue. And it can happen

even then only because of the temporary acquiescence or passivity of the labor union leaders. The consequences of this short-lived paradise are malinvestment, waste, a wanton redistribution of wealth and income, the growth of speculation and gambling, immorality and corruption, social resentment, discontent and upheaval, disillusion, increased governmental controls, and eventual collapse. This year's euphoria becomes next year's hangover. Sound long-run growth is bankruptcy, always retarded.

In Spite of "The Plan"

Before closing, I should like to deal with at least one statistical argument in favour of government Planning. This is that Planning has actually succeeded in promoting growth, and that this can be statistically proved. In reply I should like to quote from an article on economic planning in the *Survey* published by the Morgan Guaranty Trust Company of New York in its issue of June 1962:

"There is no way to be sure how much credit is due the French plans in themselves for that country's impressive $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent average annual growth rate over the past decade. Other factors were working in favour of growth: a relatively low starting level after the wartime destruction, Marshall Plan funds in the early years, later an ample labour supply siphonable from agriculture and from obsolete or inefficient industries, most recently the bracing air of foreign competition let in by liberalization of import restrictions, the general dynamism of the Common Market, the break-through of the consumer as a source of demand. For the fact that France today has a high degree of stability and a strong currency along with its growth, the stern fiscal discipline applied after the devaluation of late 1958 must be held principally responsible.

"That a plan is fulfilled, in other words, does not prove that the same or better results could not have been achieved with a lesser degree of central guidance. Any judgment as to cause and effect, of course, must also consider the cases, of West Germany and Italy, which have sustained high growth rates without national planning of the economy."

In brief, statistical estimates of growth rates, even if we could accept them as meaningful and accurate, are the result of so many factors that it is never possible to ascribe them with confidence to any single cause. Ultimately we must fall back upon an a priori conclusion, yet a conclusion, that is confirmed by the whole range of human experience; that when each of us is free to work out his own economic destiny, within the framework of the market economy, the institution of private property, and the general rule of law, we will all improve our economic condition much faster than when we are ordered around by bureaucrats.

—The Freeman.

best protection against the threat of aerial attack, is one of the main tasks confronting the western air defence team scheduled to reach New Delhi on January 30. Since the Indian Air Force will be fully extended in providing tactical ground support, if fighting is resumed, it is believed adoption of either alternative will involve the use of U.S. or Commonwealth air force units. The Indian Government is reported to have requested such assistance soon after China launched its major offensive last October. Washington sources have made it clear, however, that no firm decision has yet been taken committing the West to participation in India's air defence.....

Yet another reason for suggesting western air protection is that this would forestall Indian requests for expensive new aircraft and missile systems and reduce possible Pakistani objections, says the message, adding: "It would be much less expensive to meet Indian requirements for additional Canberras, Hunters, Mysteres and helicopters. Western observers do, however, recognise the possibility of the Chinese mounting air raids on major cities and industrial and transportation centres with the object of creating panic and dislocation, especially if they remain wide open to air attack. If practicable, both India and the West would presumably prefer to limit western involvement in India's air defence to fighter interception. This would mean that western aircraft would fly only over Indian territory (as the U.S. transport squadron is now doing) and be called on only if the Chinese bombed civilian populations. But the wide area to be covered has raised doubts whether even a billion dollar crash programme could provide adequate protection against a possible Chinese attack this summer. Effective air defence would require a screen of radar posts high in the Himalayas, an extensive network of communications and guidance facilities and a large number of fighter bases. Even this would not be fool-proof.

Protagonists of deterrent thinking argue, according to the message, that the threat of retaliation from aircraft carriers in the Pacific and Indian Oceans would be more effective and much cheaper. It would mean minimal diversion of western forces. Fighter protection would be provided for New Delhi and a few other major cities within range of Chinese attack and the explicit or implicit threat of western retaliation would be there to deter the Chinese from considering massive aerial bombardment.

OUR MOMENT OF SUCCESS

I have quoted rather extensively from these two messages to show how far we have to disclaim non-alignment to be able to protect the country in the event of resumption of warfare, and also to show the soundness of the Prime Minister's decision to accept the Colombo proposals. Defending his policy of non-alignment re-

garding which he said, "I still believe in it; I hope we will continue to follow it," Mr. Nehru said, "On the one side the Soviet Union and China were beginning to fall out, while on the other hand there was some attempt on the part of the Soviet Union and the United States to come closer". If making a virtue of necessity can be called "coming closer", Mr. Nehru is right. For, the Soviet Union, balked at every turn by American brinkmanship, which Mr. Nehru derides, has started talking of co-existence. Was it for the sake of co-existence that the Soviet Union was establishing missile rocket bases in Cuba? As for Russia and China beginning to fall out, does Mr. Nehru think that the supply of the latest rockets and missiles by Russia to China to bring down the American U-2s is further proof of the falling out? He finds more comfort in words than in deeds. That has been his lifelong weakness. Is it statesmanship to ignore deeds and rely on words?

And he calls this moment, when he is asking for U.S.-Commonwealth aerial assistance on a colossal scale, "a moment of success in this policy" (of non-alignment)! Replying to the debate Mr. Nehru said: "In pursuing aggressive policies China has become a menace and danger to the world. It has been our misfortune that we have been the victims of this aggression." Does he mean to suggest that this misfortune is not the result of the policy he has been pursuing and is the result of the policy he has not been pursuing? Of that the misfortune is not his fault, but Mr. Ranga's fault? The aggression followed his policies as night follows day. Any clear-headed man could have foreseen it. **The Indian Libertarian** is witness to the fact that this writer did during the last four or five years.

There is little so far to substantiate his assertion that "this aggression has made not only us but other countries realise the nature of the problem that faces the world." If the Prime Minister of the country that has been the victim of the Chinese aggression had realised the nature of the problem that faces the world, he would have called his policy of non-alignment a Himalayan blunder. But Mr. Nehru is certainly right when he says that "even the Chinese Government had realised the dangers of the aggressive policy," with the beginnings, he might have truthfully added, of western aid to India, but instead he taxed his imagination and added, "and possibly also of the wrong it had done to India by following that policy."

"We have committed many mistakes and will no doubt commit more," said Mr. Nehru in a moment of devastating frankness, seeming to suggest that he is aware of the consequences of continuing to follow the policy of non-alignment, "but I have yet to know that we have succumbed to fear and have fashioned our policies on that basis," Mr. Nehru himself gave rise to the idea that we had "succumbed to fear" when

some years ago in a retort to a suggestion in the Parliament for aerial reconnaissance over Ladakh to find out Chinese moves, he said, "What if our planes are shot down?" And he will be a very bold man indeed who can say that the Prime Minister's fear regarding using our air force was unjustified. All paths indeed are leading to alignment.

RANGA VS. NEHRU

There was excitement in the House when, in reply to the Prime Minister's "I think each is too big and too conscious of its honour to submit to any humiliation," Mr. Ram Sevak Yadhav (Socialist) interrupted the Prime Minister saying, "You remove your humiliation." At this Congress members shouted "Sit down" and Mr. Yadhav retorted by saying "Shut up". Continuing, Mr. Nehru said he was talking slowly, calmly and dispassionately and that he was trying to analyse the position. He was not referring to any member opposite even remotely and he did not know why "this extraordinary excitement" was taking place. (Apparently it took place because Mr. Yadhav's shot had gone home.) But resuming his dispassionate speech he observed with reference to an amendment, "I definitely say that Acharya Ranga did not agree with it. Probably he will never agree with anything good. I am prepared to make an exception of Ranga with every proposition I make." One would have expected the Prime Minister to congratulate Mr. Ranga on the foresight he had shown and the prophetic warnings he had uttered in the course of his speeches during the last three or four years—which went unheeded by the Prime Minister to India's discomfiture. But here he is turning round and trying to ridicule Mr. Ranga as if it is Mr. Ranga who has had to confess that he had been living in a world of his own creation. (Mr. Nehru should have said he had been living in a world of Sino-Russian creation, but that is another matter—not that being right or wrong matters in this country, whatever the consequences.)

As for humiliation, presence of foreign invading troops in a country against the will of the Government and the people of the country is a humiliation. No one can deny that. A decrease in the extent of the territory where they are present decreases the humiliation; it does not remove it. But if, as the Prime Minister said, "The main point is that we must never submit to coercion or military pressure," then it has to be admitted that we are submitting to it in accepting the Colombo proposals—though that is only being realistic, faced with the situation with which we are faced. The Prime Minister ordered the Army to throw the Chinese out of the country and we saw the result. It is, therefore, absurd to demand rejection of the Colombo proposals in the present situation. But it is, at the same time, being optimistic to argue that "it is a temporary arrangement," or that "the Colombo proposals have nothing to do with the

boundary dispute, as they only aim at creating a situation which would enable India and China to discuss matters between themselves to lessen tension"—as Mr. Nehru put it.

But in the main the Prime Minister was right in coming to the conclusion he did—within the four corners of his policy of non-alignment, which demands appeasement and more appeasement for its success, and which has the approval of all parties in the House except the Swatantra. In fact only the Swatantra Party has the right under the circumstances to criticise the Prime Minister and his policies. One cannot logically laud a policy and criticise the results that directly flow from that policy. As Mr. Nehru put it, "It is a question how to bring about the Chinese withdrawal to a certain extent in order to be able to deal with the matter in a manner which may lead to results not possible now"—results, he might have added, which may be possible with more of alignment and less and less of non-alignment. Therefore, as he said, "The attitude that the Government has taken and intends to take in the matter is correct."

To expect mediators to condemn one party to the dispute beforehand is to expect them to disqualify themselves as mediators. Also, the Prime Minister made out a good case for his proposition that withdrawal to the September 8 line had been accepted by the House as a pre-condition to the starting of negotiations. As for Mr. Nehru's complaint that our publicity is ruined by some such remarks made in this House," he ought to know that his and Mr. Menon's remarks, which are reported all over the world, have ruined India's publicity much more than those of all the obscure M.P.'s put together, for the simple reason that the latter neither are reported nor matter. The Colombo proposers must have heard the unforgettable words of our ministers who used to talk of "un-administered territory"—"where grows not a blade of grass", and remembered them with all their awful implications.

It cannot be denied that, by accepting the Colombo proposals, we are partly submitting to aggression. The most that the Prime Minister can say is that we are submitting to aggression for the time being and that we will throw the Chinese out when we are ready—not as we were ready for the Chinese in NEFA. But it should be obvious to any one not given to wishful thinking that we cannot throw out the Chinese from our sacred soil unless we give up non-alignment and qualify ourselves for alignment with the West. So far we have been disqualifying ourselves for alignment with as well as assistance of any kind from the West.

OUR FUNDAMENTAL APPROACH

Regarding the solemn pledge taken by Parliament on November 14, Mr. Nehru said, "We

(Continued on Page 13)

Escalation Into Surrender: Socialist Dictators : " King " Kairon

(From Our Correspondent)

TRUTH is self-evident, but only to those who can distinguish the chaff from the grain and remember that there is no generosity in politics. A bully wants to know how far he can go with impunity. As soon as the Chinese realised "the Americans are coming" he fled. His uncle had done the same in Cuba under similar circumstances. (That does not reveal a marked ideological difference between the two, on which we are being fed so assiduously these days.) The military sanction behind the Colombo proposals is the might of the U.S.A., without which India and all the other non-aligned nations will be at the mercy of China and Russia. The other sanction is political—the Sino-Russian necessity of keeping the non-aligned nations non-aligned. A policy of alignment will make the Chinese pull out altogether from India. But hope is triumphing over experience, because we learn not from experience.

By the time this appears any comment on the debate in Parliament on the Colombo proposals would be almost out of date, and I would therefore confine myself to a recital of the self-evident truths uttered in the course of the debate, in the conviction that it is never too late to realise the truth. The Swatantra leader, Mr. N. C. Ranga, asked, "Is it reasonable to expect us to go into a partnership with the Chinese, a territorial and administrative partnership on our own soil which she has grabbed?" He said that the acceptance of the Colombo proposals would result in India giving up the possibility of taking the initiative to retake the occupied areas. If that is so, and it is obviously so under non-alignment, there was little point in Mr. U. N. Dhebar's reminder that the Colombo Conference proposals provided only a basis for negotiations and not the terms for final settlement. He also said that the Colombo powers were keen on not allowing the aggressor to reap the benefit of his aggression—within the limits, he might have more truthfully added, imposed by their task of mediation.

The Jan Sangh leader, Mr. U. M. Trivedi, said that the Prime Minister's statement had unfortunately confused the whole issue as if it was a question of territorial adjustment concerning a few check posts. The time has come, in his opinion, when "India must make the courageous decision of fighting it out with the Chinese and liberating the land from all enemy occupation." He does not seem to be reading his newspaper

regularly, for the Prime Minister did order the Army to "throw out the Chinese" and the courageous decision which he wants the Prime Minister to take had already been taken by him; and what the Jan Sangh leaders should now think over, with all the brain power at their command, is: "Where do we go from here—to the U.S.A. and Britain and the Commonwealth, or back into the flattering arms of Soviet Russia,"—for that is what non-alignment comes to, when all is said.

Mr. A. P. Jain said that acceptance of the proposals would give the lie to Chinese propaganda that India did not want peace. (This is a very good argument for those who want peace at any price.) He repeated the familiar Congress and Government argument that acceptance of the proposals would not come into conflict with the pledge that the aggressor must be driven out of Indian territory, since the proposals only formed the basis for preliminary negotiations and not for final settlement. But if the Chinese retire as a result of negotiations from Indian territory—and does any one seriously expect it?—they would not have been driven out, as the pledge demands. The fact of the matter is that the pledge was not a very peaceful proposition, and now we are all for peace, having forgotten the pledge, at least for the time being.

According to Mr. Indulal Yajnik, who maintained that the Prime Minister had taken a patriotic stand, the "only bitter pill" for India in the proposal was that she was being asked to agree to have joint civilian posts with China in the demilitarised area. He warned that if the move by the Colombo powers did not go through, it would freeze the cease-fire line and sometime or other China might attempt to march on Indian soil. Even if the move by the Colombo powers goes through the result can and will most probably be the freezing of the cease-fire line, for the Colombo proposals only aim at bringing the two parties together for negotiations—which can always be prolonged.

The best contribution to the debate was made by Mr. Frank Anthony, who has been warning us regarding the Chinese menace since China occupied Tibet. He said the Colombo powers had done nothing but indulge in horse-trading. He observed that it was a cynical affront to the House to ask it to consider proposals which had already been accepted in principle by the Government—proposals which were

not only far-reaching but might well be disastrous not only for Indian history but the history of Asia". He said India's policy had represented steady retreat and equally the Chinese policy of calculated duplicity had represented calculated advance. "Every time we have receded every time they have exaggerated and inflated their claims and today they are in a position beyond what they were accepting in August last year."

"I am afraid," Mr. Anthony continuing said, "this will emasculate the psychology and national will of the people. In the final analysis the people will say blatantly that the series of retreats represent nothing but escalation into abandonment of one principle after another, escalation into one surrender after another. Once the Government of India places its seal of approval on the Chinese occupying the September 7 line, we will have completely and actively placed our approval on the Chinese occupying permanently 16,000 square miles of our territory. China lives by certain maxims: ruse and duplicity, advance and retreat, confuse and demoralise and has applied these maxims in regard to India blatantly and succeeded completely." By every wishful thinker, i.e. by almost all of us, this speech should be read over and over again.

SOCIALIST DICTATORS

The chances of the Socialist merger have receded with the announcement by the National Committee of the Socialist Party of its firm resolve to adhere to its 1962 election manifesto. The resolution of the PSP executive suggesting that a joint committee of the two parties make necessary "modifications and additions" in the manifesto to facilitate a merger is totally unacceptable to the Socialist leaders. They have thus put themselves in the wrong. According to the Socialist Party Chairman, Raj Narain Singh, their manifesto is a "just document. But that is exactly what was to have been decided by the proposed joint committee. To say that they cannot agree to a committee even to consider modifications in the manifesto is to claim a monopoly of wisdom for themselves and to deny it to the PSP. On this basis there can be no unity.

There is no force in the other argument that "we have been elected on its basis and cannot make any departure from it now," because a portion of the manifesto has already been deleted to accommodate the PSP. Also as Mr. Triloki Singh has pointed out from Lucknow, the Socialist Party in its February 1962 manifesto thought it would be puerile to attempt to take back the Ladakh area, but now it swears by the August 15, 1947, boundary and wishes to even throw the Chinese out of Tibet. Perhaps what the Socialist Leader means is that they can make a somersault but not change a comma in the manifesto.

It is absurd to accuse the PSP leaders of in-

dulging in duplicity by asking the Socialist Party to make changes in its basic policies. For, no one is asking the Socialist Party to make changes in its "basic policies". By no stretch of the imagination can reservation of 60 per cent of Government posts for backward classes or permission to Government employees, except members of the armed forces, to join political parties, be considered part of the party's basic policy.

The Socialists have apparently decided to exploit the urge for merger among Socialists of all kind in the country. The National Committee resolution appealed to the various PSP units in the country to unite with the Socialist Party forthwith, notwithstanding the "obstructionist attitude" of some PSP leaders. It also invited the Socialist parties in the U.P. and Rajasthan assemblies to function as legislative wings of the Socialist Party "within the framework of the Socialist constitution and discipline". This invitation is now being held out to those who were threatened with disciplinary action when the merger took place. Lucknow correspondents of local dailies are doubtful regarding the United Socialist Party submitting to the discipline and constitution of the Socialist Party, as demanded by its national executive, as U.S.P. circles are pointing out that the merger was unconditional. That is in fact what it should be, without the first person singular performing its singular acrobatics. Even if the Socialist manifesto is a perfect document, Socialists have the right to make it imperfect. That is democracy, while the claim for perfection is dictatorial.

"KING KAIRON"

Chief Minister Kairon has sprung a surprise upon constitutional pundits by appointing a number of advisors. To whom? Since he himself is supposed to advise the Governor, the Advisors will presumably advise him. One would have supposed that this is exactly what the Cabinet Ministers are there for. If that is so and the Advisors are also to advise, it follows that, for the Advisory Body to have any meaning, Chief Minister Kairon will sometimes listen to the Cabinet and sometimes to the Advisors, ignoring the Cabinet. The appointment of Advisors is therefore not only a slur on his colleagues but also unconstitutional, inasmuch as it deprives the Cabinet of its right not only to advise the Chief Minister but also to see that the advice is followed. That is what Cabinet decision means. Is not the Chief Minister bound by Cabinet decisions, even as the Governor is bound by the advice of the Chief Minister?

A negative answer to the first question will obviously promote fissiparous tendencies and party splits. In Nepal King Mahendra appointed his Advisors after dismissing his ministers. In Punjab King Kairon has appointed his advisors without dismissing his ministers. The Ministers retained after the recent drastic reduc-

tion in the size of the Cabinet must be feeling too grateful to utter even a humble protest, and of this factor Sardar Kairon was presumably not oblivious. The Akali split strengthened his hands and raised his stature in the eyes of the Centre, i.e., Mr. Nehru. By the appointment of Advisors he is no doubt helping himself at a time when he is emerging as the strong man of Punjab and when the Centre is too busy and too worried to realise the implications of what Sardar Kairon is doing. But if, as is being presumed here, he has obtained Mr. Nehru's verbal consent to this constitutional monstrosity, his position may be regarded as unchallengeable—so long as fissiparous tendencies do not manifest themselves.

(Continued from Page 10)

took that solemn pledge and by that we stand". And he appealed to members not to raise the argument that the Government was playing false to this pledge. What is in Mr. Nehru's mind is known only to himself, and is seldom betrayed, but even he cannot deny that the solemn pledge is in abeyance—though rightly so—by his acceptance of the Colombo proposals. It has to be in abeyance under the circumstances. But if, as he said, "the main point is that we must never submit to coercion or military pressure," then the main point has been given up.

"The fundamental approach of India," according to the Prime Minister is "to settle problems in the world through peaceful methods" and he reiterated the suggestion for referring the border issue to the International Court of Justice at the Hague for arbitration. The question arises whether this "fundamental approach of India to settle problems through peaceful methods" holds good only in dealing with mightier powers and not in dealing with weaker powers. If that is our fundamental approach, why do not we say in regard to Kashmir, the root cause of all our troubles? What is sauce for the goose should be sauce for the gander, and fundamental principles should not be lost sight of in dealing with brothers.

Mr. Nehru would make a much better impression as a speaker and a debater if he were to give up his habit of overplaying his hand and thus inviting criticism. Overplaying one's hand may be part of the technique of claptrap, but members of Parliament are intelligent people who would prefer appeals to their intelligence. To describe the moment of our failure as the moment of our success would take some beating. It is not likely to convince any one, even among his followers.

Book Review

COMMON SENSE CREDIT by Charles Morrow Wilson (*Credit Unions Come of Age*) Devin Adair Company, New York, 1962 Pages 180. Price \$3.95.

This is a breezy survey of the new credit union movement in the United States, written in an attractive journalistic style by Mr. Charles M. Wilson, a roving editor of the famous international monthly known as **The Reader's Digest**.

The Survey overflows into Canada, South America and even East Asian countries like Japan, the Philippines, India and Thailand.

It gives brief sketches of some of the heart-warming stories of "millions" of needy persons in all walks of life who have benefited from the co-operative credit movement which is a sort of self-help or mutual aid (for credit) association of members who come together for the purpose.

The aim is to help people from falling into the clutches of loan sharks and save them from high interest rates and from the dangers of unwise instalment buying beyond their means of payment in the number of instalments stipulated.

It gives (in bright, chatty style stories of how hundreds of people—fishermen, teachers, artisans, students, small shopkeepers, small industrialists, farmers and others were advanced moneys by credit unions and helped to recover solvency, increase their earning power, free mortgaged property and helped even students pay their way through college etc.

The capital in all cases has been the common share amounts subscribed by members with no swell advances from banks or governments. The interest rates have been kept reasonably low, although the rate of one per cent per month mentioned in some case seems unduly high.

The account is popular and uplifting with a view to arouse interest in the movement. It does not enable us to assess the exact value of the movement, for it does not give balance sheets of any typical societies.

In India city or urban co-operative credit societies and consumer stores are the **least unsuccessful** in a dismal record.

The co-operative movement seems to require some homogeneity or **community** in members who know each other and are dependent on each other's goodwill for success in life. The alienation from community and the consequent **atomisation** of people in Indian cities and the increasing individualising effect of modern life together with its greater mobility seems to make for the weakening of social conscience and social bonds. Hence the failure of the co-operative movement here.

Ambition to succeed, capacity to subordinate immediate consumption to later projects, capa-

city to plan one's earnings and expenses—all seem to be necessary for success in co-operative finance.

The commitment to **monopoly co-operation** in rural reconstruction (including farming) announced in the Five Year Plans in India as a consequence of the Socialist Pattern of Society seems to be clearly **unwise**. This book by Mr. Wilson serves to arouse interest in co-operative credit but requires fuller information for a balanced judgement of its utility in our plans for rural reconstruction.

M. A. Venkatrao.

Gleanings from the Press

CONFUSION OF NEHRUVIAN ELOQUENCE

"Our conflict with China is a much deeper one than the present differences and we may have to carry this for many years, whether there is an actual war or not. Therefore, we have to go on with our preparations to strengthen ourselves to the best of our ability," said the Prime Minister in Parliament on January 25th. "To the best of our ability" is not merely the ability to levy and collect taxes and 'voluntary' contributions and spend them on our soldiers and their equipment, but includes the capacity to formulate and carry into execution an effective foreign policy, which will bring us the moral and material assistance required to make up for the difference in military potential between China and India before the enemy further increases his potential. The nation should call for a halt of inhibitions that stand in the way of the adoption of a wise foreign policy which would act as a deterrent of aggressive ambitions on the part of communist China. The doctrine of self-sufficiency in the Indo-China conflict will lead to the economic ruin of the country and not to any parity with China. The doctrine of unending emergency, which the Prime Minister is predicting, will lead to the disappearance of democracy in all but its forms. These are the two points on which citizens of the Indian Republic should direct their attention, in spite of the confusion of eloquence in Parliament.

—C. R. in Swarajya.

News & Views

AND NOW FOR RUSSIA . . .

HONG KONG.

The sparsely populated wastes of Soviet Siberia bordering on Manchuria may be the next target of Chinese aggression.

The Chinese have already settled 1,00,000 people in Manchuria's virgin lands near the border. Thirty State farms have been set up, run principally by demobilised ex-servicemen, according to a report in a North China newspaper.

The White Russian population here has already been evacuated by the Chinese. Soviet consulates and Sino-Soviet associations have been closed.

Peking could seek to expand here on the analogy of their advance across the "illegal" McMahon Line. In this area the Amur river forms the boundary. The area north of it was ceded to Russia less than a century ago by treaties of 1858 and 1860.

The treaties followed bitter rivalry to develop the area, Digitized by Arva Samajik Foundation, Chennai and Bangalore. except for the Amur Valley itself, along which the Trans-Siberian railway runs. Imperial Russia came out on top and forced the treaties on China.

This is a close parallel to the Chinese version of the event that led up to the drawing of the McMahon Line.

A communist work "A Brief History of Modern China," published at Peking in 1954 marks vast areas north of the Amur river as Chinese, adding that they were "given" to Russia under the treaties.

* * *

FRENCH IDEA OF 'THIRD FORCE' WRONG HOME

WASHINGTON:

Lord Home, British Foreign Secretary, said today France's idea of a "third force in Europe was wrong."

In an interview published in the "U.S. News and World Report," Lord Home said: "If President de Gaulle is for dissociating America with NATO, we must differ from him profoundly."

"If he thinks Europe can carry on either way without partnership with America, the President, in our view, would be profoundly mistaken."

"Just in other words the conception of a 'third force' is wrong."

RED CHALLENGE

"If we are to meet the Communist challenge, if we are to negotiate with the Communists a modus vivendi and if, above all, we are to fertilize the less-developed world with well-directed wealth, then it is Europe and America and the Commonwealth that should co-ordinate their policies together. We should not be separated."

Lord Home, who was interviewed by the magazine in London, was asked: "Was there a good deal of disappointment in Britain as a result of the Nassau agreement to drop the Skybolt missile and to give Britain the Polaris missile system instead?"

"I think," he replied, "that the whole prehistory of the Nassau meeting—that is, the Skybolt episode—rather threw me off balance for a bit. But there is no doubt in my mind or in the minds of any of my colleagues that, from our own point of view in Great Britain, we got the best second-strike weapon that there is in existence and, if need be, we've got independent control of it."

* * *

C.P.I GIVES GREEN LIGHT TO VIOLENCE RAIPUR:

The Communist Party of India has directed all its units in the country to use violence against those who demonstrate against its Fifth Column activities.

The C.P.I. directive was worked out for the first time at Raipur when three Communist workers at a public meeting assaulted a leading Advocate of the town who is an office-bearer of the Bharat Raksha Dal. They used lathis, kicks and fists on him because he raised a protest against the C.P.I.'s Chinese policies.

The C.P.I. had organised a public meeting to welcome Mr. Homi Daji, a Communist M.P. from Madhya Pradesh, who had gone in the Three Member delegation of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee to the Colombo Conference.

The Commies, it was apparent, had made full preparations under instructions from Headquarters. Among those engaged to assault the demonstrators were a number of professional goondas.

WAR EFFORT SHOULD NOT SUPPRESS DEMOCRACY: SORESENSEN

NEW DELHI:

Mr. Reginald. Sorensen, British M.P., said here Opposition parties should not do anything which went against the legitimate defence of the country.

They should at the same time try to preserve faith in free discussion, he added.

Addressing a meeting of the Citizen's Council on "the role of Opposition parties during national crisis," Mr. Sorensen said the greatest virtue of India was that it stood for the democratic principle of right of free discussion.

"That is why it should outlive the world behind the Himalayas and the bamboo curtain," he said.

Comparing conditions here with the conditions that existed in Britain during world war II, Mr. Sorensen said although the situation was much more serious in Britain, the House of Commons continued to meet even during the worst air raids.

Opposition parties used to raise all sorts of questions on war effort, but the Government did not use the war effort to suppress democracy, he said.

Mr. Sorensen said that in times of crisis what brought the people together was "the spirit of democracy, with its spirit of toleration and respect."

But while criticising the Government's war efforts, Opposition parties should observe a certain caution and not say things which would help the enemy, he said.

RAJAJI SPEAKS OUT ON COLOMBO PROPOSALS

MADRAS: Mr. C. Rajagopalachari called upon the leaders of the nation to do some self-introspection before they accepted the Colombo proposals.

"If," said Rajaji, "we are to stand by what we have been shouting all these days, these Proposals must be rejected."

He, however, added: "consistency is not the only guiding principle in the affairs of nations."

Considering the position as it has developed, "the Chinese military strength... is obviously bigger at present than ours". "If we are clear and decided in our minds to seek and secure the full co-operation of anti-Communist powers abroad, we can give fight and save our honour and reoccupy our territories."

"If we seek and we are able to secure whole-hearted allied support from the West—not merely weapons, on a commercial or gift basis, but full co-operation as from allies bound by treaty—not only the fighting but any negotiation thereafter can be conducted with confidence on our side".

"If we are unwilling to do this and believe that there are risks involved in seeking any military alliance, we may accept the Colombo Proposals."

"We shall not gain anything thereby, but we shall be saved from the immediate problems of an active military campaign."

"We shall definitely be a defeated nation and China will continue to be a menace and her hegemony in Asia will be an accomplished fact", Rajaji added.

He held it was the logical conclusion of the recent developments that India should seek and secure an "unambiguous alliance with the Western powers to safeguard the integrity of our territory and our freedom; no loss of prestige or risk was involved in it."

IMMEDIATE END OF EMERGENCY URGED

AMRITSAR:

An all-party public meeting, held here under

the presidency of Mr. Amirchand Gupta, Ex-MLA and a prominent Congress leader, adopted two resolutions demanding the immediate end of the State of emergency in the country, as there was no war going on and the curb on public liberty was unnecessary.

The other resolution said that any negotiations with China should be on the basis of the boundary line as it existed on August 15, 1947, and not September 8, 1962.

The resolution said any talks on the basis of the Colombo resolutions would perpetuate the danger of Chinese aggression and also pose a threat to the country's unity.

Mr. Abdul Gani, Opposition MP, was the main speaker. He bitterly criticized Congress policies.

He anticipated a danger arising from the Congress-Communist alliance in the country, leading to a virtual dictatorship.

ENSURE THAT CHINA LIVES NORTH OF HIMALAYAS: CHAVAN

JAIPUR:

Defence Minister Y. B. Chavan said here that irrespective of whether there are negotiations with China or not "we have to recognize once for all that we have a neighbour whose hands are strong and in whose heart there is war."

Mr. Chavan said while Russia and America were trying to learn to live together, he was not sure whether China would also do so.

He said "we will have to live with this question as long as we wish to remain. We will have to ensure that China lives north of Himalayas and India to the south of it."

TIBET LIBERATION FRONT FORMED

PATNA.

A Tibet Liberation Front has been formed here to "help the Tibetans to regain their sovereignty and their right of self-government."

Mr. Mahamaya Prasad Sinha, MLC (Congress), has been elected its chairman.

"A PERMANENT EMERGENCY?"—'C. R.' NEHRU'S DIPLOMATIC FAILURE

Shri C. Rajagopalchari asked the Government to tell the people how long the present emergency would last.

Addressing a public meeting here, he assailed the Government for making the emergency permanent to keep the people live in fear on the ground of continuing Chinese menace.

He said Mr. Nehru had failed in diplomacy. The Prime Minister considered China as a brother without knowing that it was a wolf.

Shri Rajagopalchari said he did not like the "indirect compulsion let loose in the country," in the matter of collecting money for the defence fund.

"Let there be a tax if necessary so that money can be collected in the usual way and receipts obtained", he said. It was wrong to collect money in the way it was being done now.

He described the Government as a 14-carat Government and said the Government's gold policy was bound to fail like co-operative farming.

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IN THIS ISSUE

Page

EDITORIAL:

India Can Still Save South-East Asia .. 2

The Nature of the Red Regime of China

By M. A. Venkata Rao 5

Complacency With A Vengeance

By M. N. Tholal 8

ECONOMIC SUPPLEMENT

I—IV

DELHI LETTER:

Prime Minister Frames the Issues 10

India's Strategy In Sino-Indian Conflict

By Indira Avasthy 13

Book Review 14

Gleanings from the Press 14

News and Views 15

Dear Editor



India Can Still Save South-East Asia

THE much-advertised 'Burmese Way to Socialism' has only turned out to be a broad and straight road to communist Jerusalem. There is nothing uncommon about it. Burmah has only proved that haste in political and economic matters too as in every other is not only waste but also disaster. Economic laws have their own way of wreaking vengeance against those who defy them. U. Nu, the ex-Prime Minister of Burmah was the first to realise this danger of run-away socialist planning. He therefore wisely proposed to hand over to private enterprise such of State enterprises which could not be efficiently managed by the State agencies.

But this sagacious move went against the very grain of the so called "Leftist Progressivism" of General Ne Win, and his followers. So they seized power from U. Nu about a year ago and set up a military government with the avowed object of replacing 'Parliamentary Democracy' by 'Socialist Democracy', and 'Capitalist Economy' by 'Socialist Economy'. This military junta found in the already existing Burmah Economic Development Corporation a ready-made potent instrument of State-ownership. This Corporation first took charge of the Burmah Oil Company Limited. According to this new regime, Socialist Economy meant and included socialisation of agriculture, industry, distribution, transportation and communication. It was no surprise, therefore, that within a few days after the resignation of the moderate and dogmatic Socialist Aung Gye in February last, Burmah launched upon the full programme of 'Army Socialism'. The Government announced taking over the entire rice distribution trade from next year. This was quickly followed by nationalisation of all Banks national and foreign, with only meagre compensation to be paid to the owners after assessing the value of assets not at current market prices but on the basis of the actual price paid by the owners at the time of purchase. This ingenious method of compensation to the owners had already been followed by the Ceylonese Government in their deal with U.S.A. Oil Company with the result that U.S.A. had to retaliate by suspending financial aid to Ceylone. Burmah would have to stew in her juice of her Army Socialism in the same style, with disastrous consequences on the national economy.

SHADOW OF RED IMPERIALISM

All these developments bring out in bold relief the grim fact that Red Imperialism of China is casting its ominous shadow far and wide over South-East Asia. The pro-China Reds are exercising a considerable influence over Sokarno's Government in Indonesia and are openly demanding a share in the Government. They are dominating the labour unions and controlling even Sports Associations. The result is Sokarno's 'Controlled Democracy' is fast as-

suming the form of 'People's Democracy' prevailing in the communist countries of Eastern Europe. Burmese and Cylonese Governments who are going full steam ahead with their socialist programme of nationalisation of industries and even the press, as stated above, are slowly but surely regimenting the life and thought of the people under their dictatorial rule. Pakistan on the North-Western side of India groaning under the dictatorship of Ayubkhan, is also wending her way to the Chinese Red camp. Thus all dictatorial regimes in underdeveloped South-East Asia are coming closer and closer, as if in a conspiracy to stifle and even to wipe out completely what little of democratic freedom is still lingering in countries like India and Malaya.

INDIA'S ROLE

In this struggle between Freedom and Totalitarianism going on in South-East Asia, on which side of the barricade does India stand today? Encircled as she is by pro-China nations, she cannot remain for long uncontaminated by the virus of communist totalitarianism. By now, Indian people must have realised the real reason why these small Asiatic nations are loth to condemn the aggression of China on India and are very anxious to bring about a settlement on the border question which favours China and lets down India. Indian patriots must have also realised how these small nations obsessed with the idea of rapid industrialisation, fall an easy prey to the subtle but powerful propaganda of the Red countries that the Russian or the Chinese way is the surest and quickest road to material progress and welfare. Let them therefore scent the danger that India might go the same way these small nations have gone, if she does not learn betimes how these so-called Asian Ways to Socialism—Burmese, Cylonese, etc.,—are leading these small countries into the blind alley of communist totalitarianism. India is also sure to turn red, if she does not rethink and reassess her 'Socialist Pattern' and goes on experimenting with her grandiose Plans and unrealistic foreign policies which have spelt so far nothing but economic ruin and political humiliation to the country. To those unprogressive Leftists and Fellow-travellers who in the name of 'Nehru's Socialist Pattern' and War Economy, plead for 'stronger doses of socialism' to cure the country of its present ills, we can only point out how Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism failed in increasing the living standards of the people in Russia and China, as compared with those of the 'free' leading countries of the West and how, for that reason alone, Stalin had to think of extending Russia's frontiers westwards in the thirties and the forties and how the imperialist Mao of China has now been driven to look on South-East Asian countries with a greedy eye.

A contemporary of ours recently bewailed that in this emergency India is not yet going the socialist

way even when the small nations like Burmah and Ceylon are doing so. To such dogmatic socialists our reply would be: 'We refuse to believe that Socialism is any longer a progressive ideal. We oppose this out-dated socialism by our Liberal-democratic Radicalism which believes in the power of the creative forces of private enterprise and individual freedom to promote India's material welfare and well-being and to guard her interests both in war and peace. As far war-economy, we can do no better than reply in the words of Professor Mises: "There is no record of a 'socialist' nation which defeated a 'capitalist' nation. It was not 'Socialist' Russia that aided 'capitalist' America with 'lend-and-lease'. The Russians were lamentably defeated before American-made bombs fell upon Germany and before they got arms manufactured by American 'Big' business'".

The time has therefore come for India to take a definite stand on this issue. There cannot be a middle-of-the-road position between reactionary Socialism and Liberal Democratism. It can be safely asserted that if India takes the liberal-democratic path to national progress and prosperity, she can still save South-East Asian freedom from the menace of China's 'Red' Imperialism.

STRANGE BED-FELLOWS

Like common adversity, common hatred also seems to make strange bed-fellows. The Islamic country of Pakistan and athiestic red China have now come together to nibble away patches of Kashmir territory which legally and constitutionally belongs to India. The cynical way in which Pakistan has entered into a pact with China regarding the boundary between the Pak-held Kashmir area and Sinkiang unmistakably shows that Pakistan's rulers are bent on sabotaging Indo-Pakistan talks on Kashmir due to be held shortly at Calcutta. For, the Pak-China pact defeats the very purpose of these talks, which is to explore the possibilities of an amicable settlement between the two countries and thus to make it possible for them to present a united front to the Chinese aggression on the Indo-Pak sub-continent.

One would not therefore be far from being right in concluding that Pakistan hopes to occupy forcibly the whole of Kashmir with the military aid of China and she has arrived at some sort of secret understanding with China on this question. How this amazing step of Pakistan could be reconciled with her membership of anti-communist military alliance such as CENTO and SEATO, is beyond one's understanding. The day however, will not be far off when Pakistan will realise that by signing this pact she has signed away not only India's territory to China but also her own honour and freedom.

On the whole, Pakistan has gained nothing by this pact. She has only lost a fund of sympathy she commanded in regard to this question, not only in the free world but also among the democrats of India. India could call still this Pakistan's bluff and bluster and bring both China and Pakistan to their senses; if she should only act up to her democratic faith and vacate China's aggression on India, right up from Kashmir to NEFA, with her own efforts

replenished by the powerful military aid so generously offered by the Free Democratic Alliance of the West.

NEHRU ON FREEDOM OF THE PRESS

Prime Minister Nehru has now-a-days become very touchy regarding the criticism appearing in the nationalist press against some of his pet economic illusions and political theories. He therefore lets no opportunity go to have a dig at the Indian press in the name of preserving 'freedom of the press.' The other day he delivered himself of a long homily on this subject in his address to the Press Institute at Delhi. It is now wellknown how he and his Government look at the question, from the warnings given by them to four newspapers which were all non-communist and whose only sin was that they criticised the Government for their never-ending negotiations with the Chinese invaders, and thus damping the fighting spirit of the people. In Mr. Nehru's opinion the press could enjoy the freedom only to praise and applaud him and not to criticise him even in good faith and out of patriotic motives.

The socialist that he is, he always feels like dilating at length as he did at Delhi, on the evil of 'concentration of money' in the newspaper industry, 'Newspaper Chains' which organised opposition to Government. One is almost afraid that with his craze for nationalisation, he is preparing the ground as in Ceylon, Indonesia and Pakistan for bringing the newspaper industry in India increasingly under the governmental control. He perhaps thinks the pre-

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sent control exercised by the Government over the press, through the favour of Government advertisements, newspaper quota system, licenses, is not enough. The great publicity given not only to his speeches and statements but also to those of his Ministers on all subjects under the Sun, whether deserved or not, does not yet satisfy him fully though it has greatly surprised and even scandalised foreign observers. He must know that there is not one 'Chain' but many Chains of newspapers which are more pro-Congress than anti-Congress, including the communist Chain which has been certified by the Press Registrar of India as the biggest Chain in the country. Then again 'concentration of wealth' is not unusual in this industry alone, though it may be an unmitigated sin and evil in the eyes of seagreen State Socialists. It is the common phenomenon in every growing private enterprise. The evils of monopoly could be very well mitigated in this trade too as in any other trade, by suitable legislation enacted on lines followed in all democratic countries. Moreover, it must be remembered, these various 'Chains' compete with one another for winning public support. If the Prime Minister has come to believe that the public read more of anti-Congress newspapers than pro-Congress ones, he has only to thank his own unpopular policies for this state of affairs. But it is totally wrong on his part to presume that the press can manipulate public opinion as it chooses. The fact is, the public and the press react on each other and influence each other's opinion. In our opinion, the consumer—in this case the reader—remains the master of the situation in this newspaper market too as in every free and open market. Things would certainly go very awry and fearful, if instead of the industrialists owning and running the different press 'Chains' which make for efficiency and also low costs, ill-informed and power-mad politicians ruling the country should control and direct the press and its opinion. That would simply spell the doom of all freedom of the press and free expression of public opinion.

RAJEN BABU PASSES AWAY

Another stalwart of India's struggle for freedom has passed away. Though it was known for some time that Dr. Rajendra Prasad had been ailing with grievous intestinal trouble, the country was not prepared for the sudden and poignant way in which his illustrious life and career came to an end. A devout follower and trusted collaborator of Mahatma Gandhi, he remained true and faithful to the Gandhian creed to the last of his days. His modesty and humility were remarkable, even though he was highly gifted with many qualities of head and heart. In him was harmoniously blended all that was best in India's traditional past and her present modernism. So wherever he went and whatever position he held in the Congress or in the Government, he commanded a measure of respect and confidence from all sections of the people which falls to the lot of only a few public men.

His Presidentship will be long remembered for the many stirring events, political, social, and economic that happened in India during the period.

It is not yet sufficiently known how the cleverly sagaciously steered India's political and ship safely through the storms and stresses created by the so-called progressive leftists and how his quiet but firm handling of piquant situations saved India from the dangerous consequences of extremist politics and ideological enthusiasms. After his retirement from his Presidentship, he had many hard things to say against the present policies of the Government regarding Tibet, formation of all parties national government, the Kashmir issue. This must have been greatly distasteful to the present leadership which is so self-satisfied and self-complacent even in face of severe reverses India has suffered in domestic and foreign policies.

That such a mature-minded and sagely Indian leader should pass away at this moment when his advice and guidance were solely needed is the greatest misfortune that could befall this country. The whole nation is in deep mourning and rightly so.

D. M. Kulkarni

FOOD FOR THOUGHT

"If it were true that socialism could be achieved only at the price of complete destruction of personal liberty, individual initiative and independent thinking, then preference would have to be given to the private capitalist system with all its inevitable defects and shortcomings. This truth must be spoken out frankly. Those who deny it contribute to subjecting mankind to a new and still more abject slavery."

—Rudolf Rocker.

"Ambition, impatience and hurry are often admirable in an individual; but they are pernicious, if they guide the power of coercion and if improvement depends on those who, when authority is conferred on them, assume that in this authority lies superior wisdom and thus their right to impose their beliefs on others."

—F. A. Hayek.

"Liberal Democracy is democracy as the organisation of liberty. Its significant feature is the way in which liberty and equality are interwoven with the aid of solidarity, willingness to help one another, check selfishness and promote the interests of others as much as one's own."

—Massimo Salvadori.

"Beware of any men, any group of men who claim that given absolute power they can create an earthly paradise. Such fanatics are pre-destined to create the very close approximation to hell which one finds in totalitarian prisons and concentration camps, no matter how pure and idealistic their original purposes may be."

—W. Chamberlin.

"THE PERIL TO LIBERTY TODAY COMES FROM THE LEFT, FROM SOVIET AND CHINESE COMMUNISM."

—W. Chamberlin.

The Nature Of The Red Regime In China

By M. A. VENKATA RAO

Independent India was the first to recognise the Communist regime in China, ignoring, at the instance of Mr. Nehru, the uncritical enthusiast about communism in general and Russia and China in particular, the rivers of blood shed by Chinese leaders and the systematic rejection by them of liberal principles, ancient and modern. There is no sign even yet that our leaders have got rid of this illusion. But it is of crucial importance for the nation through its intelligentsia to size up the truly wicked and uncivilised nature of the Communist regime.

INDEPENDENT India was among the first to recognise the communist regime on the mainland of China. She did so with unseemly enthusiasm, ignoring the rivers of blood shed by its leaders over the years and the systematic rejection they displayed of all liberal principles, ancient or modern.

Free India confronted communist China right from its hour of total triumph but as events have shown and as critics have been justified, she has learnt nothing of value, nothing of the grim truth of the regime and of the character of its supreme leaders. This systematic evasion of reality and systematic cultivation of illusion is in no small measure due to the uncritical enthusiasm of the Prime Minister of India for communism in general and for Russia and China in particular.

The confrontation of China and India on the Himalayan ranges, in Ladakh and in NEFA in September-December 1962 brings to sharp focus and crisis the results of our false approach and false interpretation of the Chinese phenomenon.

There is no sign even yet that authority has yet got rid of its voluntary illusion. But leadership apart, it is of crucial importance for the nation through its intelligentsia to size up the true nature of the Chinese regime. This is essential and indispensable for the radical remodelling of official policies which cannot be postponed much longer without irreparable disaster to the country.

It is proposed to indicate a few features of the red regime in China as a basis for a rethinking of national policies.

A number of vivid accounts of the state of things in Red China occur in Mr. Liu Shaw-Tong's book **Out of Red China** which was published in an English translation in the USA in 1953. The author was a student in Peking university when Mao's armies "liberated" it in 1949.

Along with a vast audience of several thousands of students he was pressed into service of the Organisation, as the communist party was called by those who addressed them. They were told that they had **voluntarily** joined the Organ-

isation for serving the Revolution!—which was a great privilege. They were astonished at the new definition of voluntariness and privilege but could not help it!

Mr. Tong was attached to the South-bound Army in its information or propaganda department along with several dozens of his classmates. He moved south with the "liberating" army contingent and served the Revolution for over a year. He was shocked and disillusioned at the radical transvaluation of values—with definitions of truth and goodness, right and wrong, duty and humanity, progress and reaction, democracy, freedom, justice, equality and so on with the rest of the spell-binding words made sacred from the democratic revolutions in Europe and America.

He at last found an opportunity to escape to Hong Kong and so ultimately to the USA where he wrote out his experiences. It has been published in simplified English in a paper-back edition under the title of **Out of Mao's China** in 1960. This book is mentioned here in spite of the years that have passed since it was written in 1953 because of the vivid, dramatic quality of Tong's presentation out of his own experience.

It is a failing of human nature to be unable to learn from experience easily, one's own or from that of others. Today when authority is exhorting writers to stimulate patriotism by their writings, it is easy to see how difficult it is to realise in the imagination, as it were face to face, the events that took place and are taking place in communist countries in general and China in particular. We have to penetrate a thick veil of illusion created by wish-fulfilling fellow-travellers and sentimental sympathisers who think they are doing a noble act in expressing bright approval of things communist as **progressive** and condemning present society as **reactionary**.

The book recalls to the present writer an incident related to him at a party in Bangalore in 1943 by Mr. Tan Cheng Lock, a Malayan millionaire, British subject and president for some time of the Malayan Legislative Council. He was a refugee after the Japanese occupation of Malaya and Burma, etc.

He gave the story of some Japanese soldiers killing a number of Chinese **women** who, tired of hiding in the forest, came out and surrendered themselves to the Japanese, **kow-towing** (bowing) humbly. The Japanese cut off the heads of the poor women—a perfectly needless butchery of defenceless women, serving no purpose whatever! Mr. Lock expatiated on the cruelty of the Japanese war-lords and soldiery. But his description applied, it seemed to his hearers, to the yellow man as such. It applies today admirably to the Chinese communists.

The Chinese communists have attained power, not by peaceful agitation as in India and as in democratic electoral processes by parties contending for the favour of the voter, but by means of a **protracted civil war**, of which for a long time (over fifteen years) guerilla war was a principal feature.

There is no comparison whatever between the writings of Gandhi, Nehru, Rajendra Prasad, Patel, etc. on the one hand and those of Mao Tsetung and Liu Shao Chi on the other. The latter are **military manuals**. Mao speaks of rules of war, of attack and negotiation, "front" and fighting as alternative tactics for the same end, viz., capture of power.

Politics, he says, are a game of power. And power, he adds, issues out of the barrel of a gun!

An American correspondent asked Mao Tsetung whether it was true, as was alleged, that his party had liquidated **8 million** peasants in the process of establishing co-operative and collective farming in China. Mao shook his head and answered—that the figure was **only eight hundred thousand** (8 lakhs)! Even taking him at his word, 8 lakhs of peasants killed for realising the policy of collective farming is sufficiently characteristic of the "scientific" and thorough violence of the Chinese communists. Violence is part of their creed. They are not squeamish about it. Life is cheap in China. The notion of human **dignity** which we associate with democracy as its noblest **spiritual or ethical** quality is **unknown** to the communist movement.

The examples that Mr. Liu Shaw-Tong gives in the book mentioned above, of cruelty in various departments of policy are shocking but bear the stamp of truth.

In 1947, the agrarian revolution was being introduced in various districts of the northeastern part of China which has passed into the hands of Mao and his men years ago. Peasant youth had enlisted in Mao's armies which had risen from a few thousands to more than a million by then. With the turning over of Manchuria's rich industrial and military resources to Mao's forces by Russia (who had conquered the Japanese after Hiroshima), Mao's armies had swelled and his areas comprised large provinces in the North and Centre and West.

Guerilla officers and men were strictly forbidden to visit their villages and relatives when their contingent passed near them on their

movements. A guerilla officer could not resist the temptation but stole from his regiment on horseback and visited his village. He saw the villagers crowding round his **father** whose hands were tied behind his back. He was a **landlord**, though he had only ten **mou** which he had bought out of savings. His mother and sister were weeping. The cadres saw him and respecting his uniform put the case before him. But as a **communist officer**, he had to swallow his family affections. He said with great difficulty that he would not interfere with the People's Court; whereupon, the crowd set upon the poor old man and **killed** him by ruthless beating as people kill a bandicoot!

The example of the officer was propagandised in all parts of the communist army as one to be followed.

This was done in **most villages**, destroying the old family sentiments and sanctifying popular greed and violence and giving them the sacred name of law. Indian intellectuals, lawyers among them, are not wanting who can defend even this travesty of law and morality!

In another village, a landowner, a small-holder was killed. The committee expressed regret and allowed his wife to retain nine out of the twelve **mou** that the owner had. The wife soon hanged herself out of grief and despair at the ill-treatment meted out by the communists.

The committee then decided that since the mother was dead, the son could do with **three mou**! But they soon visited him and told him that he had been given the honour and privilege of volunteering for the National Army which wants young and healthy men. And since an army man **needs no land**, even the three he had been left with, was taken away by the People's Court! There was no appeal.

Mao Tsetung told Mr. Nehru and other visitors that he was not in a hurry for introducing co-operative farming but would wait for fifty or even eighty years! But the very next year, orders were issued for the formation of millions of "co-operative" farms!

The **amount of freedom** given in establishing communes ought to be known to everyone—which is **nil**. The people had to work in accordance with the scheme of the communes, on pain of terrible punishment.

In the Southward Bound Army, Mr. Tong worked and issued news sheets as instructed by his chiefs. He and his colleagues had to write that the people **welcomed** the liberation army everywhere enthusiastically, **whatever the truth might have been** in particular places!

A guardsman related to Mr. Tong in confidence how an old woman killed thirteen red army soldiers, who had been billeted upon her household! It appears that a local communist committee man, out of some grudge, always mentioned her family for the billeting of soldiers and for hospitality for visiting communists. The

family was robbed of its food stores in this way unfairly.

The old woman managed to kill thirteen soldiers after feeding them while they were sleeping. It is not known whether they were poisoned or killed by a sharp weapon, cutting their throats with the help of menfolk.

But newsmen had to suppress this incident. They had to put glowing accounts of **how happily** and joyously the people welcomed the communist "liberators"!

The propaganda chief laid down three principles for the guidance of his subordinates.

1. News should promote the Revolution. Objectivity of the bourgeois type had no meaning for the communists.

2. News should be written from the standpoint of materialism—historical and dialectical. That is, the proletariat should always be praised in the class war.

3. Presentation should be argumentative to give an appearance of method and scientific procedure and so of truth.

These instructions follow from the Marxist theory of the economic determination of truth, according to which **truth**, universal, necessary and objective, **does not exist**!

The way in which the Chinese propaganda is proceeding in confusing issues and making the worse appear the better case and aggression, no aggression at all in the Indo-Chinese war these days, is a perfect example of the sophisticated "principles" of Chinese communism. Both aggression and propaganda bear unmistakable signs of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism.

Mr. Tong says that what is happening in China is **Universal Tragedy** but it is not **realised** as such because of the dry unimaginative presentation of the situation by most writers. Also the matter is confused by the **will-to-believe** the best of communism that Leftist groups have developed everywhere, out of a false sentiment of admiration for the communist revolution as the agency for solving **all problems of mankind** at one stroke—war, poverty, inequality, oppression, class exploitation!

PUBLIC INFLUENCE AND PRIVATE SQUALOR

The future of India lies in the hands of millions of small entrepreneurs and not in big corporations or centralised governmental planning, according to Prof. Milton Friedman, a world-renowned economist. Detailed governmental control and detailed central planning were, in fact, obstacles to economic growth, he added, speaking on "Economic Growth: End or Means?", in Bombay on Tuesday.

Speaking under the auspices of the Forum of Free Enterprise, he said that economists really did not know enough of what caused economic growth. "While free enterprise by itself does not cause eco-

nomie growth of the kind which produces things desired by the people according to their personal values, without free enterprise there can be no such growth," he said.

Prof. Friedman, Professor of Economics at Chicago University, said that economic growth in terms of statistical aggregates like Gross National Product, as in communist countries, was an end in itself. Central planning in such countries had failed to produce goods and services wanted by the people. Where growth is an end in itself, as in communist countries or in such historical examples as Egypt during the time of the Pharoas, there was totalitarian government extracting the savings of the people to create "public affluence" and "private squalor".

In contrast, he observed, economic growth which was merely a means to an end meant a "self-sustaining society" where goods and services wanted by the people were produced.

He said that governmental enterprises were bad because they did not admit mistakes, but continued to subsidise them. The free enterprise system is a "profit and loss" one and mistakes were rectified. He was against private enterprise seeking governmental protection. Free enterprise should really mean freedom for all citizens to start an enterprise of their choice and run them at their own risk. He added that monopolies were created when government controls or other favours were given to private enterprise, and this was bad.

"The great virtue of a free enterprise society is that the capitalist has least power whereas in collectivist societies capitalist has the most power," Prof. Friedman observed. The main thing is good life of the people and not "monument building" by Governments.

NON-ALIGNMENT TIGHT ROPE

"This writer believes that the present state of emergency should continue since the nation must steel itself against any relaxation of vigilance, determination and effort in the face of the ever-present Communist Chinese menace. But an obligation equally lies on the Government not to relax the tempo of its own and the people's vigilance by distracting the country's attention and unnecessarily alienating friends with its acrobatics on the precarious non-alignment tight-rope. As we have often said before, the preservation of India rates above the preservation of non-alignment. We believe that non-alignment is the best policy for India in the present circumstances though we do not accept the theory that the wonder of our achievements has got the rest of the world gazing at us rapturously in admiration and envy. Non-alignment is no eternal doctrine applicable to every country in all circumstances. Here again it would be not only foolish but dangerous to fall a victim to slogan-mongering which is so fashionable with the Government. The state of emergency should certainly continue. But emergency should not be made an alibi for authoritarian government."

— Frank Moraes in 'Indian Express'.

COMPLACENCY WITH A VENGEANCE

(M. N. THOLAL)

Mr. Nehru says he has 'no sense of fear' from China. Nevertheless it is his clear duty to create legitimate fear about the possible Chinese invasion again. It is, also, his duty, as our Prime Minister, to guard our country against treacherous attacks of the enemy. If he cannot see to it with the help of the national forces at his disposal, it is his plain duty at all costs to obtain sufficient external aid—alignment or no alignment.

REPLYING to the debate on the President's Address, in the Rajya Sabha, Prime Minister Nehru admitted that it would be absurd on India's part not to ask for help in this "basic struggle for life and freedom." If for various reasons, such as commitments in other parts of the world, adequate help is not forthcoming he said, such a situation "will be none of our creation." If adequate help is not forthcoming on account of the helpers' commitments in other parts of the world, the resulting deplorable situation, it is true, "will be none of our creation"—though obviously our duty to our motherland dictates that we leave no stone unturned to see that commitments in other parts of the world are reduced to increase commitments to India, having regard to the urgency of the situation following the Chinese massive invasion of India. Can our Prime Minister lay his hand on his heart and say that that is being done?

But if adequate help is not forthcoming for entirely different reasons, for some of which the present Government may be responsible, then the responsibility for the resulting deplorable situation will be ours, and the situation will be of our own creation. Some of the various reasons for which adequate help may not be forthcoming are worth going into, having regard to the gravity of the situation resulting therefrom. If those who help us expect us to concentrate all our strength in meeting the Chinese menace, instead of dispersing it along the Indo-Pak border, there would appear to be nothing particularly wrong with them, for they would then be only expecting us to realise the nature of the menace to which we have been giving adequate expression.

They would thus be only expecting us to help ourselves before we expect them to help us. Mr. Nehru himself has been emphasizing the doctrine of self-help to the extent, indeed, of appearing ridiculous, having regard to the difference in the military potential between India and China. If, further, their expectation of self-help in this regard is based on their expectation of our following the principles which our Prime Minister enunciates and adumbrates every day, can it be said that they are trying to attach strings to their offers of assistance? In this hour of the nation's crisis let us be absolutely sure that no one is able to accuse us of jingoism and expansionism, of which we accuse China.

In describing the present situation as "this basic struggle for life and freedom," Mr. Nehru indirectly told us who our real enemy is, who our great enemy is. Let us then make friends with the minor enemy, in the interests of that very basic struggle, particularly as that minor enemy knows, in his heart of hearts, that our real enemy is also his real enemy. If the principles we flaunt before the world every day also demand that the minor enemy should be converted into a friend and ally by simply translating those principles into practice, then the case for the conversion of the minor enemy into a friend becomes incontrovertible.

Let us not try to be too clever in this grave hour of our national danger. Let us not foolishly talk as if those whose help we seek—those who can help us out of our present predicament—are and should be more interested than ourselves in preserving our freedom and independence. Any one who has been following our foreign policy has good reason to suspect that even those who have come to our help against China have been saying to themselves regarding China and us: "Served them right". Let us not make them help us niggardly with clenched teeth, in a mood that might make them gloat over our reverses and our losses, as much as the enemy and his friends.

In a speech, soon after the invasion, the Prime Minister rightly enough said that those who had offered to help us were interested parties, meaning thereby that they were interested in combating Communism. Was that a discreet utterance? The Prime Minister's daughter, who reportedly has more influence and power than all the Cabinet Ministers put together, said recently that the help received from our helpers was small. Surely this is no time for belittling utterances which can, even by stretching the imagination, be construed as biting the hand that feeds, particularly as the Prime Minister himself has been deprecating the need of request for massive aid.

Mr. Nehru said the Government had hoped that in the next few years it could prepare the country economically and militarily, but the Chinese attack came much earlier. (The Government hoped thus even after five years' continuous aggression by China). A few days earlier he had said, "Anything can happen any moment". Two days later, replying to the de-

ECONOMIC SUPPLEMENT

INFLATIONARY BUDGET

By Prof. G. N. LAWANDE, M.A.

The unprovoked Chinese aggression has compelled our Finance Minister to frame an unprecedented budget which will spell a measure of privation for the people in almost all walks of life. The main purpose of this all time record budget is to raise additional revenues for defence and development purposes. In the opinion of Finance Minister the basic consideration in framing taxation policy must be not only to raise the revenues, but it must also promote the rate of economic growth and correct the imbalances in different sectors. But it must be admitted that the Finance Minister has thrown overboard the latter objective by imposing harsh taxation measures on the poor people who are already overburdened by the taxes and the rising price level during the last five years. During the Second Plan period the retail prices of the most of the essential commodities have risen by about 42% and the Government of India has miserably failed to stabilise the price level. Even the Selective Credit Control measures adopted by the Reserve Bank of India have failed to lower the prices with the result that the middle class—the backbone of the society has practically disappeared from India. At present we have only two classes, namely, the rich and the poor and by the new taxes the poor will become still poorer. The aim of our Government is to maximise the welfare of the poor people but one regrets to say that the new taxation policy will impose a heavy burden on the poor section of the people that they will not be able to bear. To meet the Chinese aggression the people have voluntarily responded to the call of the Government. The private sector also did the same and co-operated with the Government by keeping the prices stable. But in framing the Budget the Finance Minister has not kept the principle of equity before himself. Every tax policy must be based on twin principles of equity and justice, but our Finance Minister wedded to socialism has thrown to the winds the principle of equity and this can be seen when he decided to appropriate half the income of the companies in excess of six per cent of the capital and the reserves when the capital market is already sick. As a result of these measures the future development of our country will be the monopoly of the public sector and the private sector will not be given any opportunity to play its vital role in the economic growth of our country. At present our plans suffer from the paucity of capital and since the promotion of capital formation is essential for development it is difficult to defend the rationale of this tax proposal. Mr. Desai has repeatedly said that

the private sector need to play a big role in the development plan but this tax measure will certainly kill the incentive of the private sector to save and invest. The budget gives an impression that the Government of India wants to make the full use of the mood of the nation for mobilising the resources to the maximum. For this reason Mr. Nehru Prime Minister of India urged the people to view the new tax proposals made in the Budget in the light of Chinese aggression and bear them cheerfully. He admits that the new taxes would undoubtedly increase the burden on the people but at the same time he says that the burden must be borne in the interests of the country's freedom and integrity. One could have understood if the additional revenues had been raised for economic development but it appears that the Finance Minister was in a state of dilemma when he has found himself helpless before his colleagues. In the opinion of Estimate Committee the non-plan expenditure should be greatly curtailed to reduce the deficit but this also has been ignored by the Finance Minister. Not only this, but the Finance Minister has kept a big gap of 41 crores which will be filled only by deficit financing. It was estimated that deficit financing to the tune of Rs. 110 crores should be resorted to annually but additional dose of 41 crores will certainly lead to inflationary spiral. As a result of taxation proposals many essential commodities have gone under-ground and the people find very difficult even to live. We are told again and again that our Government is making frantic efforts to maximise welfare of the poor people but the welfare is still far off and it is doubtful whether our present Government wedded to socialist pattern of society can ever realise the objective. Welfare of the people can be maximised only when the prices of the essential commodities and the value of the rupee are stabilised but from the present market trends it can be easily seen that in the near future the prices will never come down; on the other hand the prices will show a tendency of rising, which will cause terrible suffering to the middle class families.

Out of Rs. 275 crores that will be raised by means of additional taxes 9 crores will go to the States and the balance of Rs. 266 crores will go to the Centre which will bear the responsibility of gigantic defence effort. The Finance Minister estimated the revenue at the existing level of taxation at Rs. 1585.73 crores and the expenditure at the record level of Rs. 1852.40 crores. In order to raise funds both for defence and development the Finance Minister envisaged the total

plan outlay of Rs. 1651 crores as against current year's outlay of Rs. 1465 crores. The provision for defence has also been increased to Rs. 867 crores as against the revised estimate of Rs. 505 crores for the current financial year which itself is higher by Rs. 108.44 crores. The determination of our Planners to stick to the plan targets makes it impossible to switch the resources from the development to defence. Under these circumstances both defence and development have to be accelerated with the help of limited resources and the only remedy is to curtail consumption. In order to achieve this objective the Finance Minister has resorted to Compulsory deposits scheme. As a result of this scheme certain amount of income of the people will be withdrawn and by that amount consumption will be reduced. As a consequence of reduced consumption the efficiency or the productivity of the workers will tend to fall which will raise the cost of production. At present what is of paramount importance is the productivity of the workers in every field to bring down the price level. The new taxation proposals will accelerate the rising price level which is inimical to the economic growth of the country.

In his budget proposals he has effected marginal changes in direct taxes which will yield an additional revenues of Rs. 69.6 crores exclusive of Rs. 40 crores to be collected from compulsory savings. The levy of super profit tax on the corporate sector is defended on the ground that the expenditure in the public sector on defence and development will result in windfall profits to some of the industries. This will have depressing influence on the capital market in view of the high rate of corporate taxation. Import duty on a number of articles has been imposed while export duty on tea has been abolished in order to encourage exports. Though most of the articles on which import duty has been imposed are machinery and raw materials yet the rise in the prices of machinery and raw material goods which are producer goods and intermediate goods are likely to enter into the cost of production at one stage or the other and this will bring about an all round increase in the cost structure. Everything depends upon whether the manufacturer will shift the burden on consumers or not. A surcharge of 10 nP. on all import duties has inflationary potential. The surcharge on tyres and motor vehicles will affect the masses and they will push up the transport charges. Though Finance Minister has scrupulously avoided articles of common consumption like sugar, cotton fabrics, footwear, matches, yet the duties on cement, cotton yarn are likely to raise the cost structure. On the whole the luxury section of all sections of the community has been taxed without any mercy to raise the required amount of resources. In short, the Finance Minister has cast his net very wide and roped in practically everything on which he can lay his hands. The Budget proposals are designed to reduce consumption but this policy may also affect the growth of our economy.

Even a massive dose of taxation the country will have to suffer a deficit financing of the order of Rs. 157 crores. This in itself will generate inflationary forces in an economy which is already bedevilled by the recurring assaults of price inflation. New imposts on industrial raw materials might accentuate these inflationary prices. Tax measures should not thwart the drive for increased production. Today to have more goods on production line is as essential as to increase Government's revenues". But one must say with regret that Mr. Desai has not paid sufficient attention to this aspect and the result will be that the prices will tend to rise unless immediate steps are taken to check them in time. Prices can be maintained stable only if the production of consumer goods is accelerated which will also prove beneficial from the point of balance of payments position. At present our market is a sellers market and unless it is converted into buyers market all attempts to reduce the gap in the balance of position will be nullified by the rise in the price level due to new taxation measures.

PERSONAL TAXATION IS THE HIGHEST IN INDIA

The following report is of interest and significance. It is from the "Economic Times", Bombay, dated February 20, 1963.

"Personal taxation in India today is the highest in the world.

"Making this statement in Calcutta on February 19, Mr. D. L. V. Rowe, a director of Bird and Co., gave some figures to substantiate his view. The figures are for married men with two children. In giving these figures he said he did not forget that most, if not all, 'fringe' benefits came, in India, within the I-T O's net, and hence were included in 'income'.

"Mr. Rowe was speaking on 'A Company Director Looks at Indian Income Tax' at the symposium of the Chartered Institute of Secretaries India Association, which was inaugurated here by the Sheriff of Calcutta, Mr. R. N. Sen.

"The Comparative figures given by Mr. Rowe were:-

(Old Budget)

Rs.	India	U.K.	U.S.A.	Malaya	Japan
Income	%	%	%	%	%
13,333	6.9	7.7	2.9	2.5	15.6
26,666	17.9	18.8	11.4	6.9	23.0
40,000	27.7	22.6	14.8	10.3	27.5
53,333	35.9	24.5	16.9	12.9	30.6
66,666	42.5	26.5	18.7	15.6	33.6
80,000	47.7	28.8	19.9	18.7	35.3
93,333	51.5	31.6	21.6	21.7	37.2

"So Mr. Rowe said, from the start, a company director faced the difficulty of remunerating adequately a staff which he had taken a great deal of care in choosing and training and, for that matter, leading."

Helping Emergent Countries "Leapfrog" To Modernity

By AUSTEN NAZARETH

Can a newly emergent country lift its income five per cent a year, each succeeding year?

Experts believe it can. How to make such a goal a reality is an important focus of the discussions in progress at a great international conference now in session at Geneva.

These are the targets of the United Nations' "Decade of Development":

A 2½ percent rise, every year, in the personal income of each person in the developing countries of the world;

A 5 percent increase in the national income—the total earnings from goods and services—of every developing country upto 1970, and continued expansion thereafter.

We can hit these targets, many authorities opine, if the available natural and human resources are properly mobilized. The present conference at Geneva is discussing fully how resources and skills can be mobilised for economic growth.

Like many governmental and inter governmental enterprises these days, the Geneva conclave is known by a rather uninspiring if handy set of initials—UNCAST. I think its full title, though quite a mouthful when spelled out, is much better, much more clearly descriptive of the high promise it holds: The United Nations Conference on the Application of Science and Technology for the Benefit of the Less-Developed Areas.

It is almost a platitude to mention a tremendous boost science and technology have given in the past century or so to development, to increasing prosperity and to raising incomes in Europe and North America. The rest of the world is now acquiring the use of the same scientific and technological tools to speed its own development.

The process of development is accompanied by growing pains. It brings in its wake characteristic social and economic problems. Fortunately the countries now developing can in large measure avoid these growing pains by learning from the accumulated experience of their predecessors.

This wealth of experience is being sorted, sifted, analysed, and fitted into patterns of practical use by the nearly 2,000 experts now conferring at Geneva. They are scientists, technologists, engineers, educators, bankers, economists and government officials. They come from almost every land on earth—close on a hundred different countries, both developed and developing—as well as from a score of international specialized agencies. Not without significance, the president of the conference is an Indian, Professor Maneklal S. Thacker.

It is not surprising that United Nations Secretary-General U Thant has called this one of the most important UN-sponsored meetings ever held. Under discussion at Geneva are 1,800 special papers covering a vast spectrum of the knowledge and progress of the developed countries of the world. These papers fall into 12 major categories—from human and natural resources to health and nutrition, from agriculture to communications—each closely linked with balanced development efforts.

As befits a country which is an outstanding example of the role of science and technology in national development, the United States' interest in the Geneva meeting is manifested in many aspects. It has sent an impressive delegation of some 100-top-notch American experts from various spheres, both private citizens and public officials. It has submitted 140 of the conference papers. It was, in fact, one of the five nations which sponsored the U.N. resolution calling for the conference.

U. S. interest is even more fundamental. The idea of the Decade of Development not only has—and has had—strong American support, but was actually first proposed by President John F. Kennedy in an address to the U. N. General Assembly on September 25, 1961. In his proposal—which the Assembly approved in a resolution on December 19 the same year—the U. S. President urged that the world organization expand and co-ordinate its efforts behind a worldwide drive to "enable all nations, however diverse in their systems and beliefs, to become, in fact as well as in law, free and equal nations".

This generative U.N. statement by Mr. Kennedy was an expression of a world outlook in obvious line with long-standing U. S. objectives. For the United States has led the way in large-scale programmes of technical and economic assistance to countries across the globe. In the past two decades it has given more than \$70,000 million for this purpose.

As examples, we need only take some of the most immediate—in India itself:

Projects receiving U. S. assistance include a huge motor-tyre factory near New Delhi, an aluminium factory at Rihand, a synthetic-rubber factory in Uttar Pradesh, and a cement factory in Mysore.

In the field of transportation, India has utilized American assistance to buy jet planes, diesel locomotives, signalling equipment, steel to manufacture locomotives and goods wagons, and motorcar components.

Eight Indian thermal and hydro-electric power projects with a total installed generating capacity of 12 lakh kilowatts are financed

wholly by U. S. loans; American loans and grants are, in part, meeting the cost of 13 others which will together produce 16 lakh kilowatts.

The United States is providing the services of eight American engineers to help increase coal production in India, and four American training advisers to set up a comprehensive training programme in this country for steel engineers.

The U. S. Agency for International Development (A.I.D.) mission to India has provided the services of five American guest professors to the Bengal Engineering College at Howrah to help develop the training of engineering teachers.

A consortium of nine well-known U. S. educational institutions has been formed to aid the Indian Institute of Technology, Kanpur.

Before U. S. delegates to the United Nations conference left for Geneva, they called on President Kennedy at the White House. "There is no reason why the developing nations have to make the same mistakes made by the nations which industrialized early—no reason why our great body of advanced technology should not be brought to bear so that the newly developing nations can leapfrog the interim stages in the process of modernization," the President told the American experts.

He added: "The most constructive task of our age is for the affluent countries to help the other two-thirds of the world to provide quickly the material basis of a decent life for all."

—American News Feature.

Experts' Findings

Govt. Can Do Without Extra Taxes

The Government of India can obtain adequate funds for defence and development even at the existing levels of taxation.

In fact far from the need to impose additional taxation, a case can be made out even for granting tax relief.

This view has been expressed by the Society for the Propagation of Democratic Thought in a brochure entitled: *The Emergency And The Exchequer*.

A study made by the Society shows that on the existing level of taxation, the Government can obtain an additional Rs. 447 crores in 1963-64.

In concrete terms, the Society estimates that the Government should be able to save Rs. 205 crores by avoiding waste and effecting economy in various directions.

Revenue from customs and Central excise could be higher by Rs. 182 crores and income-tax and corporation tax by Rs. 40 crores.

Contributions by companies to the National Defence Fund, on the basis of current trends, could be estimated at Rs. 20 crores, it says.

In the circumstances, the Society says, there is hardly any need for additional taxation.

The Society also warns that any further increase in taxation will retard production, push up prices, slow down exports and discourage the flow of foreign capital which is essential for rapid industrial development.

Revenue Trend

Analysing the trend in revenue, the brochure points out that receipts under excise, customs and income-tax in 1962-63 will be substantially higher than the budget estimates.

Actual collection of excise, the largest single of revenue, amounted to 227.74 crores in the five months ended August, 1962, and for the whole year, it may well be about Rs. 560 crores.

Similarly the revenue from customs for 1962-63 is estimated at Rs. 240 crores on the basis of the actual collection of about Rs. 100 crores in the five months—April to August.

Thus the total collection from excise and customs for 1962-63 is likely to be Rs. 800 crores—Rs. 240 crores from customs and Rs. 560 crores from excise.

The yield from income-tax and corporation tax also is expected to be much higher than the budget estimate of Rs. 352 crores.

The brochure says increased economic activity will also bring in more revenue under income-tax and corporation tax.

The yield from income-tax for 1962-63, without taking into account the increased rates, was estimated at Rs. 148 crores and assuming an increase of five per cent in the revenue, it should be possible to realise an additional sum of about Rs. 8 crores.

As regards corporation tax, the assessable profits of companies in the current year may be estimated at Rs. 400 crores as compared to Rs. 356 crores in 1961-62; and with company tax at 50 per cent, the collection will be Rs. 200 crores or Rs. 32 crores over the budget estimate.

In this way, even at the existing rates, it will be possible to find about Rs. 40 crores in 1963-64 from income-tax and corporation tax together.

Expenditure Side

Dealing with expenditure, the brochure estimates that on the basis of the experience of previous years and taking into account the increased expenditure on defence due to the emergency, the expenditure for 1963-64 will be about Rs. 1,775 crores.

But about 50 per cent of the additional defence outlay will be in terms of foreign exchange which has to be obtained through loans or aid.

This means that the expenditure next year will be about Rs. 1,603 crores or Rs. 1,398 crores if the economies suggested are actually implemented.

As against this figure, the revenue will be about Rs. 214 crores more than the expenditure, the brochure says.

bate in the Lok Sabha on the President's Address, the Prime Minister said the fact was that the danger from the Chinese was not past and he did not know what would happen in the next three or four weeks. (He added that India had to strengthen itself. Does he think India can strengthen itself in a few weeks?) Or, if another attack comes from the Chinese side, will he repeat what he said in the Rajya Sabha: "The Government had hoped that in the next few years it could prepare the country economically and militarily, but the Chinese attack came much earlier"?

And does Mr. Nehru seriously believe that the difference in military potential between India and China will disappear in the next few years? That belief can only be based on the optimistic assumption that, while we shall go forward industrially and militarily, China will be going backward, and that in the near future Russia will stop its huge military aid to China. If these are the assumptions, as they seem to be, what can be more compacent than the attitude of the Nehru Government?

But it is no use thinking at present of the next few years. We have to think of tomorrow, of the next few weeks first, since Mr. Nehru himself has told us of the possibility of anything happening any moment, that the danger from the Chinese was not past and that he did not know what would happen in the next three or four weeks.

"NO SENSE OF FEAR"

Said Mr. Nehru: "I have no sense of fear from China or any other country." Perhaps, Mr. Nehru wanted to convey to the House that he was no coward. If that was all he wanted to say, we should have no quarrel with him. But what is this "fear" that Mr. Nehru deprecates indirectly? Fear is not necessarily always a sign of cowardice. Indeed, according to the Concise Oxford Dictionary, "fear" is a "painful emotion caused by impending danger or evil." (According to Mr. Nehru himself the danger from the Chinese is not past, or, in other words, the danger is impending). Fear can and does make sensible men take precautions for safety. When Mr. Nehru says, anything can happen any time—and he has a right, indeed it is his duty, to warn us of impending danger—he creates fear in us. When he says he does not know what will happen in the next three or four weeks, he creates fear in us—legitimate fear. This is legitimate creation of legitimate fear. How then is he able to say that he has no sense of fear from China? One can understand a Communist saying that. How can one understand the Prime Minister saying that, except in a spirit of bravado?

It is his duty to create legitimate fear. But it is also his duty, as our Prime Minister, to gu-

ard our country against treacherous attacks, to see to it that the enemy is unable to penetrate deep into our territory. If he cannot see to it with the help of the national forces at his disposal, it is his plain duty at all costs to seek and obtain external aid sufficient to prevent successful invasion of the country—alignment or no alignment. No patriot can dare differ with this proposition without forfeiting his right to be a patriot. That is the plain truth of the matter.

Defining the aims of the Government's policies, Mr. Nehru said one of these was "to develop the people's mind to resist to death and not to submit to aggression". This is in the best Gandhian vein, but easier said than done. Everyone knows that Gandhiji used to say "Pakistan over my deadbody." And every one knows that at the A.I.C.C. meeting which finally considered partition, he stood up and spoke in support of partition. He realised that this time a fast unto death would indeed be a fast unto death and he did not even threaten it, wise man that he was. It is not so easy to embrace death, as Mr. Nehru seems to imagine. (With reference to his threats of quitting, people have been saying, "It is not so easy to quit as he imagines"—and rightly because quitting is like courting political death. How much more difficult must courting physical death be?) There has in these many decades of our struggle for freedom been only one instance of a man—hallowed be thy name, O Shraddhanand!—defying British bayonets with his bared onward-marching breast. Just one instance. One swallow does not make a summer.

Surely Mr. Nehru knows all that. And yet he prefers to talk, like that lover of the absurd Mr. Jaya Prakash Narayan, of developing the people's mind to resist to death and not to submit to aggression. This desire radically to change human nature in a few weeks or months or even years, belongs legitimately to the reformer and not to the politician. Judging from Mr. Nehru's utterances, it would appear to be high time for him to transfer himself to where he rightly belongs, where he can live in a world of his own creation without being disturbed by reality.

The Prime Minister said India was not weak and would never submit to force. What else has she been doing for the last six or seven years? He also said countries with whom some members wanted India to become aligned did not want it, because they would have to shoulder too heavy a burden—for a Government, he might have added, whose Prime Minister takes a peculiar delight in ridiculing their alliances. "What about NATO?" asked Mr. Ruthnaswamy, as if to provoke the Prime Minister and the latter said, while NATO had not failed, SEATO and CENTO had failed completely and miserably.

(Continued on Page 12)

DELHI LETTER**Prime Minister Frames The Issues**

(From Our Correspondent)

The lessons of October-November have not been fully learnt by the Government. The Western powers, as Mr. Nehru says, 'do not want to underwrite the defence of India', because our Government does not want them to do so. The Prime Minister has condemned NATO, SEATO and CENTO many times but never condemned Sino-Russian Alliance or Warsaw Pact. The Prime Minister is more interested in his principles than defending 'a physical patch of territory'. His 'complacency' even after successful massive invasion of India by China, could be clearly seen from his attempt to cover his Government's failure by calling it 'a moment of success'.

Prime Minister Nehru's replies to the debates in the Rajya Sabha and Lok Sabha on the President's Address were, as usual, rambling discourses. Speaking in the former he felt that, while fighting the Chinese menace, India should keep its principles in tact. The reference presumably was not to the principles underlying the Constitution, but to those of his own enunciation which are dearer to him than the former. What, it is being asked, if those principles prevent us from fighting the menace for all we are worth? "We are bound by our own limitations and not China's," he asserted without fear of contradiction. Of course, of course, and it is these limitations which stand in the way of the country meeting the menace as it should be met.

The Prime Minister admitted that a change had taken place in India's basic policies because of the force of circumstances. It was the part of statesmanship to foresee and anticipate the force of circumstances, but, far from doing so, it seems to observers here that the force of circumstances has yet to be realised in all its intensity because the circumstances themselves are not being properly understood. Wishful thinking, the mother of complacency, reigns supreme, because reality is too painful to contemplate. And this despite the fact that the Prime Minister has had to recognize that "anything may happen any moment". There seems to be no correlation of activities and decisions with this sombre realisation. And yet the Prime Minister said in the Rajya Sabha, as if in answer to Rajaji, that at no time had the Government been complacent about China.

The lesson of the October-November invasion seems to have been lost upon the Government. "We are getting help," says Mr. Nehru, "They do not want to underwrite the defence of India or take the defence of India completely in their hands." Why should they, when our Government does not want them to do that—neither

by word nor deed? We are getting help, as he said. But the question is, and it is being asked everywhere here, whether that help is enough to act as a deterrent to the Chinese, and, if that does not prove to be the case, whether it will prove enough to enable us to repel the Chinese, if and when they launch their next invasion. If the help we are getting can do neither, then it is of no use. But here is our Prime Minister reaffirming his non-alignment every day and condemning and ridiculing the Western alliances—to the exclusion of Communist alliances—and he says of the western powers that they do not want to underwrite the defence of India!

It is a simple question of putting first things first. "India is the main target of Chinese attack," says Mr. Nehru rightly, "It is challenge which we cannot ignore....we have a duty to ourselves, to Asia and the world in this matter". So far so good. We are all on common ground. But, he proceeded to observe: "In trying to meet that challenge, if we give up the principles for which we have stood, that is the greatest surrender to China than anything we could do or suffer." Is the surrender of our Quixotic principles a greater surrender than the surrender of our country or a part of it to China? No sane man or patriot can have a moment's doubt regarding the answer, and yet our Prime Minister does not seem to be clear in his mind about it.

CUSSEDNESS

"If we meet China we defend the very principles for which we stand," said Mr. Nehru, and asked, "If we give up those principles in meeting China what do we defend?" And he himself answered the question: "Just a physical patch of territory which is important enough." His countrymen should be grateful to him for recognising the importance of a "patch of territory", "on which grows not a blade of grass," but the question obviously arises, "Which is more important? The defence of his precious principles or the defence of his country which

he calls "just a physical patch on the map" (It is impossible to ignore the underlying contempt for our territory inherent in the words he uses with reference to the territory claimed by the Chinese, which is entirely absent in his words with reference to the territory claimed by Pakistan). Let not our Prime Minister allow cussedness to dominate the debate on the security of the country. It is our plain duty to see that he does not do so.

Mr. Nehru took strong exception to some members ridiculing the slogans raised in the country, "Hindi-Chini Bhai-bhai", when India and China were friendly. Does he now believe that China was really friendly to us then? He has himself stated that he had been deceived by the Chinese. Do friends practise deception on their friends? Or is it that he is taking strong exception to the ridicule because the slogans were patronised by him and should therefore be regarded as sacrosanct like his non-alignment? But if there is nothing wrong with the Chinese, and he has been saying there is nothing wrong with Communism—that China is not pursuing the path it is pursuing because it is Communist—that would leave India fairly and squarely in the wrong. The truth would appear to be suggested by the Hindi saying, "Sone par suhaga", i.e., Chinese gold burnished by Communism.

Mr. Nehru is always overplaying his hand. He often reminds this correspondent of an editor (of his own paper) who thought it was his duty to take up every point made by the adversary and demolish it. He would therefore always insist on taking up his strongest point for criticism, with, naturally, deplorable results, ending up, almost always as he did, with the damaging admission. "Even if he is right, he is not wholly right." Likewise Mr. Nehru is not content until he has done his utmost to prove that "Acharya Ranga" and his friends are wholly wrong, and this at a time when the march of events has made it plain as pikestaff to everybody that he has been wholly in the wrong.

Mr. Nehru's desire to prove to the Indian people that Rajaji is wholly wrong often leads him to make extraordinary and fantastic statements—to borrow two favourite adjectives from his vocabulary. "Some members," Mr. Nehru observed, "accuse our Government of complacency," and added, "I am no good judge of it, but one thing is quite clear that we certainly are not complacent. That is my view." Perhaps Mr. Nehru would have done better to leave the charge of complacency alone after the successful Chinese massive invasion of October-November last, following, as it did, five years' continuous aggression. But then how could he be reticent in his "Moment of Success" as he calls it?

OUR MOMENT OF SUCCESS

Similarly it is not surprising that Mr. Nehru should fall foul of "the critics of the

Colombo proposals" who "have obviously not been able to distinguish between honour and dishonour". One should be inclined to feel that persons who cannot distinguish between honour and dishonour should be made to retire from the public forum, but Mr. Nehru was inclined to be indulgent and contented himself with the observation, "I do feel that this way of thinking and talking shows an extremely limited outlook" "Five years of continuous aggression" followed by a "massive invasion" which we could not resist and both resulting in our "moment of success"—quoted words are Mr. Nehru's—and yet there are people who talk of dishonour. How can there be dishonour in "success"? How can there be humiliation in "success"? How can anything but such success be our lot so long as Mr. Nehru calls failure success to prove his greatness?

On the Chinese menace Mr. Nehru said, "It is not a thing of today or tomorrow or the day after. It is a long term thing. This conflict between China and India is a very big thing for India, for Asia and the world. We must not think of finding a sudden solution of it by a magic wand." The solemn resolve by Parliament on November 14 last to expel the aggressor from our sacred soil is apparently to remain in abeyance for "a long term". Can it be that the Prime Minister now thinks that he was rather rash in moving that "solemn resolve" resolution in Parliament, knowing as he did our limitations—non-alignment and all that?

So here it is—Mr. Nehru's great gift to India, to Asia and the world, a "very big thing", as he put it, the result of the basic policies which his government has pursued—friendship of all and non-alignment—and no wonder he feels "we were right, are right, and will continue to be right in a changing world." Friendship with all is all very well for saintly precept—and Mr. Nehru will himself ridicule any charge of saintliness against him—but in politics friendship with enemies leads to disaster. That has been his policy—friendship with enemies and enmity with friends. He has condemned NATO and SEATO and CENTO a hundred times. Has he ever condemned the Sino-Russian Alliance which has brought India all this trouble? Or the Warsaw Pact which no member is even in a position or has the right to repudiate?

Mr. Nehru admitted in the Rajya Sabha that it would be absurd on India's part not to ask for help in this struggle for life and freedom, but if for various reasons, such as commitments in other parts of the world, adequate help was not forthcoming, such a situation "will be none of our creation". Surely Mr. Nehru does not imagine that our helpers will allow their commitments in other parts of the world to stand in the way of their main objective—the containment of China and Russia? It is to be hoped that the How? Have any of the member countries of

Nehru Government will make sure that it does not provoke them into finding excuses in commitments in other parts of the world, for that is a possibility which cannot be overlooked in the present concatenation of circumstances.

AIR COVER : AIR UMBRELLA

In the course of a statement in the Lok Sabha on February 21, Mr. Nehru said: "Discussions between the US-Commonwealth air team and IAF experts have led to speculation in the Press about the establishment of foreign bases and foreign planes as an 'air umbrella' in India. These reports are incorrect and greatly exaggerated. . . . There is no question of stationing of foreign air forces or the establishment of any foreign air bases in India."

At his news conference the same day (Feb. 21) President Kennedy clearly indicated that his Administration would give favourable consideration to Indian request for air cover in the event of an air attack by the Chinese. He added that the request for air cover by India had been made in November.

Is one to conclude that, while we shall welcome the air cover or air umbrella—the two mean the same thing—we shall not allow the foreign (American) air forces to be stationed in India? No other conclusion seems possible, and yet it is so patently absurd as to be ruled out as nonsense even by the Nehru Government.

(Continued from Page 9)

How? Have any of the member countries of these alliances been invaded by any Communist power? Obviously not, and that was what the alliance aimed at. How then have SEATO and CENTO failed completely and miserably? If India had been a member of those organisations she would not have been invaded by China and she would not today be in fear of another invasion by China. That seems to be immaterial in Mr. Nehru's way of thinking.

It would not be wise for India, says Mr. Nehru, to sell its right of defence. Who is asking India to sell its right of defence? Has any member of NATO or SEATO or CENTO done that? It is hardly fair to exaggerate beyond all proportion a patriotic proposition advanced by the Swatantra Party and then to ridicule it. The moment you sell the right of self-defence, said the Prime Minister, you lose that sense of stoutness and standing on your feet, which is an essential thing. We must suppose that we had that sense of stoutness and standing on our feet in October and November last, and we have it now in what Mr. Nehru imagines is "our moment of success". A man who can imagine that can imagine anything. But what is most distressing and annoying at the moment is that our Prime Minister, even at the time when he is seeking massive aid from the Western powers, is unfairly ridiculing their alliances and thus trying, as in the past, to undermine their influence. This cannot do India any good. Indeed, it may do our country a lot of harm. Is it any wonder

to shoulder too heavy a burden for our sake? For decency's sake, as well as for the good of the country, let us all remember the English saying, "biting the hand that feeds", and do our utmost to avoid being accused of doing so.

MARXISM REVERSED

'The ideal end of the marxist economy was social justice and liberation; its sociological end, the economy of needs; and the psychological end, the freely accepted devotion to public service; summarised in the famous saying of Marx "From each according to his capacity, to each according to his needs". The sequence is now reversed. The psychological end has now become the will to power; the sociological end, the economy of power; and the ideal end, the imposed domination of universal socialism.

For the economist this analysis of ends should be a safe guide to action.'

— Prof. Piettre.

As Chinese Mass Troops SIKKIM TAKES UP ARMS

V. I. K. Sarin reports in *The Current* :—

Why is China massing its troops on the borders of Sikkim? Why is she trying to confuse public opinion by levelling baseless and grossly inaccurate charges of incursions into Tibetan territory by Indian soldiers and aircraft from Sikkim? Is it the usual prelude to a well-planned attack on Sikkim? These and other similar questions, which are currently disturbing the Sikkimese minds, have forced the simple hill folks to take to arms and defend their motherland against the unscrupulous Chinese expansionism.

The Maharajkumar of Sikkim, Palden Thondup Namgyal, alerting his people against the imperialist aims of Red China, recently said here that China was known the world over to nurture expansionist ambitions.

"China has a tradition of territorial aggrandisement; history says that throughout the centuries China's name has been synonymous with imperialism and greed. Whenever they were capable of expanding their territories, they did not hesitate, even though it happened to be in utter disregard of their avowed policies of peaceful co-existence."

It is this realisation that has compelled the hands traditionally trained to wield the prayer wheel to take up arms. Today men and women, young and old, throughout the length and breadth of Sikkim are coming forward in large numbers to learn the use of firearms.

Several thousand Sikkimese ex-servicemen have volunteered to fight the Chinese. Many of them, according to Mr. D. B. Chetri, Secretary of Sikkim Sailors, Soldiers, Airmen Board, have already come forward to impart rifle training to the Sikkimese youth, without so much as demanding a single penny of allowance.

India's Strategy In Sino-Indian Conflict

By **INDIRA AWASTY**

INTERNATIONAL politics have turned over a somersault with the Chinese aggression on India. It has for the first time brought the true picture of the relations between China and Russia into focus. There can be no doubt that the Chinese have not made this unilateral cease-fire proposal out of sheer generosity and kindness of their hearts. The Russians have most certainly twisted the vulnerable tail of China.

It might seem strange indeed that the Communist brotherhood is splitting up due to the friendship existing between India and Russia. One can guess ulterior motives behind Russia's magnanimous gesture of helping India to contain the Chinese invasion. China's ambition knows no bounds. She wants to be the master of the whole Communist world, the whole of Asia and who knows she may even be having wilder dreams! The aggression against India is perhaps only the means to an end. China in all probability wants to grab the ready-made riches of the fertile plains of the Ganges, the tea gardens, the jute growing areas and the oil fields of Northern India, in order to put her own (China's) economy on a more firm footing. She wants to build (and she has already built) a highway across the AKSAI CHIN Plateau linking SINKIANG and TIBET. This is very significant in relation to Russia. China wants this highway to form a suitable and proper channel of communications between Tibet and Sinkiang, so as to effectively control Sinkiang and develop it into a formidable military base from where to direct operations against Russia, when the time is ripe.

One would imagine that the buffer provinces of Sinkiang and Outer Mongolia are of grave concern to the Russian people. Truly the Russians seem to have raised a treacherous dragon, who is sharpening its claws to devour the very hand that feeds it!

In the context of the Chinese threat to Russia, the latter must be vitally concerned about the fate of India. This is the time for astute diplomacy for India to get the best out of its policy of non-alignment.

One agrees with our Prime Minister that we must not close our eyes and go back to sleep because aid is being extended to us by friendly countries. This aid is only meant to tide over our present deficiencies. We **MUST** make our own arms. Perhaps, Pandit Nehru, was being very sagacious and diplomatic when he affirmed that it was not communism that we were fighting, but the imperialist attitude of China. He was careful not to offend the ideological sensitiveness of Russia. He hopes to retain our self

respect and prestige in this precarious position in which we have been placed, only by having both Russia (even if its support is silent) and the NATO countries on our side. There is no doubt that our Prime Minister is in a unique position in which he alone can maintain the tight rope walking between the two blocs. The MIG deal is important for India not because we will gain a tremendous advantage by obtaining twelve MIG Aircraft, but because it will signify Russia's support. Russia is wavering because China must be upbraiding her for pulling away from the brotherhood. But surely Russia must have the right to choose to support her own friends; and India could expect all her friendly pressure to persuade Russia to honour her promises by supplying us the MIGs.

There is a great deal of controversy regarding the motives behind the Chinese cease-fire. Many people have sat back complacently, thinking that the Chinese never had any real intention to invade and conquer India. Otherwise, why this cease-fire when they had the advantage!

It would seem that the cease-fire had 3 causes and motives. Firstly, Russia probably gave China an ultimatum that she was going too far. Secondly China had gained her immediate intention of exhibiting to the Asian countries that "might was right" and that the Indians were only "Paper Wrestlers" (Kagzi Pahalan). the third, (most important and dangerous reason for us) was—that the politicians and strategists sitting in Peking—playing "war games on the Chess table", realized that even if they occupied a substantial Indian territory, they would not be able to hold it for long. They have realised that in order to have a real victory over India, they must soften the ground first. They must convert the people to their way of thinking and win their sympathy and support. China does not do things by half measures, it will be noticed. They did not attack India with just 10,000 soldiers. They waited till they could strike with 10 times the superiority in numbers and equipment.

The Chinese strategy is apparent in NEFA. It is now known, the Chinese had been infiltrating Tibetan women into NEFA, after getting them forcibly married to Mompa youths. If the Chinese did not have local guides and supporters who gave them exact and immediate information about Indian Army dispositions and numbers, they would never have had the success that they did. Therefore, in the same way, the Chinese want to keep in their possession the Himalayan passes to India, so that they can infiltrate their agents into India for propaganda

purposes, before they launch the final massive offensive.

We have to be extremely alert to this eventuality. It will be much more difficult to counteract and check this ideological warfare than an armed invasion. It is like this: If a clear stream flowing gently is confronted by a large uprush of water, its own waters become turbulent; but if a stream of dirty water is quietly let loose into its waters, it easily and unsuspectingly mingles with the clear water! We must counter the Chinese propaganda machines in a very effective manner, if we are to score a victory over China.

We have to play for time in order to build up our own resources to hit back at the arrogant invader. In the meanwhile we must seek aid from all our friends to keep the enemy at a respectable distance from our country.

(The thoughts expressed above do not necessarily reflect the opinion of this journal—Ed.)

Book Review

OUT OF MAO'S CHINA by Liu Shaw-Tong
(Inside Story of Present-day China): Published by Popular Library Inc. New York Duell, Sloan and Pearce 1960. Price 10 cents. (Original Title: **OUT OF RED CHINA**: Published 1953 in Taiwan). Pages 128 including glossary.

This is a typical achievement of American publishing enterprise to reach the masses of the modern reading public on the largest possible scale. Priced at 10 cents and rewritten in simple English, it is a model of books suitable for the new literates—in America the immigrants and in India the products of the adult literacy movement in their vernacular equivalent.

This book conveys authentic information about communist China in the first year of the Revolution when it captured power over the entire mainland driving Chiang Kai-shek out to Formosa (1949-50).

The author **Liu Shaw-Tong** worked for a year as a People's correspondent with the "Southward Bound Army" when it moved south from Peking in its mission of "liberation", occupation and capture of power.

He describes his experiences in simple words with the edge of disillusionment still keen in his mind. Many aspects of communist China come alive in his simple narrative and confirm the worst fears we had formed from what we had read of Russia and her revolution and the immense sufferings of her people.

As a news correspondent, he tells us the new instructions he received with his colleagues. He was not to report **objectively**, for objectivity was but a bourgeois prejudice! His job was to report in favour of the propertyless class, of the proletariat revolution! He was further to remember that he was to report from the **standpoint of materialism** as an overall philosophy as regards

truth and values. Thirdly, he should adopt the argumentative method in reporting.

His chief told him that the old world reporters only revealed what **happened**. His job as People's correspondent was to **create a new world** in accordance with revolutionary principles. Everything that helped this was truth and fair and right!

There is an interesting section on marriage and love, which in the eyes of the revolutionaries dissociates sex from the other human values of a permanent character developing a family sentiment.

There is a vivid chapter on **land reform**. A guerilla officer from a farmer's family hears of land reform in his village. He visits it secretly and finds his father bound hand and foot and surrounded by the village poor, shouting at him. He was forced to say that the Revolution was **supreme** and the **People's Court** was **sovereign**! Thereupon his father is beaten to death before his eyes and the eyes of his mother and sister, brother and sister-in-law, who look on piteously. The farmer had only a couple of acres which he had acquired by years of hard work. But the cupidity and greed of the poor were aroused by the cadres. This was how millions perished to transfer land to the tiller and **power to the Party**. The book deserves to be translated into every Indian language, especially in today's crisis brought about by China's fake claims to be a heaven on earth. The enormous and criminal falsity of the news control called the bamboo curtain is also vividly described here.

—M. A. Venkata Rao.

Gleanings from the Press

UMBRELLA FOR FOUL WEATHER

The controversy over "Air Umbrella" should come to a halt with President Kennedy making it quite clear that U.S.A. would be "responsive" to Indian requests for aircraft support in the event of sudden Chinese attacks on Indian cities. The Indian Communists who have been loudly proclaiming their opposition to Red China's unprovoked aggression against this country should, in the light of these proclamations, welcome any measures that would strengthen India's defences and ability to meet all aerial threat from Peking. But the Communists evidently want that we should defend ourselves against the Chinese attack only with Russian military hardware! As this assistance and support is hard to get from Moscow, as was witnessed during the last fall when the Han multitude attacked us, the Communists would rather prefer to leave the cities undefended than seek help from quarters where it is available. They evidently want an umbrella with the Moscow label on it. But the people of this country whose main concern is to strengthen the defences at any cost have reasons to be happy at the prompt manner in which the Western Powers have rushed to our aid when Moscow was swearing by the unbreakable bonds with which she was wedded to her ally. The people at large have by now come to know the fair-weather and foul-weather friends.

—Flame Delhi

BRITISH LEFTIST WEEKLY'S COMMENT: PEKING GOING BACK ON COLOMBO PROPOSALS TO MOUNT ANOTHER OFFENSIVE IN SPRING

The left-wing journal from London, Tribune Weekly, in an article captioned "Border: Going Back 'on Colombo'" has observed that the Chinese acceptance of the Colombo proposals has turned out to be "more apparent than real."

The journal stated "Originally, when the high level mission from Colombo visited Peking, the Chinese made great propaganda with their so-called positive response to the proposals. Subsequently Mr. Nehru, in spite of heavy pressure from his right-wing parties, announced his acceptance of the proposals in toto."

"The Chinese acceptance of the proposals has turned out to be more apparent, than real. They are now trying to attach various conditions and qualifications to their acceptance, contrary to the recommendations of the Colombo Conference."

"Meanwhile, reports have come in of massive concentrations of Chinese troops in the Chumbi Valley between Sikkim and Bhutan."

"This may indicate that the Chinese are preparing for another offensive very soon, when spring comes to the Himalayas."

EXPANDING CHINA MENACE

WASHINGTON

SOUTH-EAST Asian nations will have to reckon with an enlargement of China's role including "the direct use of military power."

This has been made clear by the Sino-Indian clash according to the report of the senatorial group led by Mr. Milk Mansfield.

It said the small independent States of the region had been unable to fill the gap left by the withdrawal of the Western European colonial powers.

"The Sino-Indian clash makes clear that it is now necessary for the South-East Asian nations to reckon with the enlargement of the Chinese role at any time to include the direct use of military power in a full modern revival of the classic pattern of Chinese imperial techniques in South-East Asia," the report said.

Stressing the key position which the U.S. held in the area, the report said any sudden U.S. withdrawal from South-East Asia "would open the region to upheaval and chaos" and would cause "the Chinese shadow...to lengthen."

SOMALI PUPIL RELATES COMMUNIST RACIALISM

SIENA (Italy), Mar. 3 (AFP).

A SOMALI student who has arrived here with five friends has given his version of the racial troubles which they and many other African students encountered in Bulgaria recently.

The student, Hashi Abdi Barre, told newsmen here: "When we arrived in Sofia on Bulgarian Government grants we did not know the language. We saw people laughing and pointing at us and we thought this was a sign of pleasantness."

We realised later that they were insulting us and laughing at us. One day a police chief to whom we had gone to protest against the continual racial discriminations, told us, with ironical smile: "you cannot protest since you are descended from monkeys."

He went on: "Our fellow students at the Bulgarian University treated us in the same way. They shunned our company telling us clearly: 'Keep away from us, because you Africans are all crazy.'"

Instructions

An organisation of young Bulgarians took up the affair, Barre added and "apparently put out instructions warning girl students that if they were seen in our company they would be expelled from college."

The Somali student said that very often when an African went out with a girl a group of youths would follow them and at the first opportunity "jump on the African and beat him up." If a police officer happened to be passing he would "pretend not to have noticed."

After a great number of African students had left for England and America, representatives from the Ghana Embassy were called to the Ministry of Education "where pressure was put on them to try to persuade us to stay in Bulgaria," Barre added.

"Finally the authorities agreed to release those who had been arrested and gave us the money for our tickets. We had to arrange that ourselves," he said.

"When we Somali students left, nearly all the other Africans had already departed," Barre concluded.

NEHRU TELLS STATES TO RETAIN ENGLISH AS ASSOCIATE LANGUAGE

NEW DELHI, March 2—Prime Minister Nehru has, in a circular letter to the State Chief Ministers, stressed the need to continue English as an associate language of the Indian Union for an indefinite period.

Apart from giving an assurance on this score, Mr. Nehru has argued that English as an international language should be retained to comprehend and assimilate the progress the world was making in the fields of technology and science.

Another point made by the Prime Minister is that India had lagged in the past and had even lost her freedom by her habit of "inward looking."

'WIDESPREAD DRINKING BY POLICE'

AHMEDABAD.—Prohibition cannot succeed in Gujarat unless the drink evil is first rooted out from the police force.

The prohibition and crime subcommittee of the Ahmedabad District Development Board has come to this conclusion.

The Committee passed a resolution which is interpreted as an indirect admission of the failure of the Prohibition policy.

The police force was not respected by the public for this reason and hence it did not have the required moral strength to enforce the dry law.

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IN THIS ISSUE

Page

EDITORIAL:

'Secular' State or 'Civil' State? 2

An Unnecessary Revolution
By M. A. Venkata Rao ... 5

The Political Philosophy of
Jaya Prakash Narain
By M. N. Tholal ... 7

English in Schools and Colleges
By K. Sreeramamurthy. 9

DELHI LETTER:

Joint Sino-Pak Attack on India? 10

Book Review 12

Gleanings from the Press 13

News and Views 13

Dear Editor 15



EDITORIAL**"SECULAR" STATE OR "CIVIL" STATE?**

THE Prime Minister Nehru does not appear to have any clear and definite idea about what he means when he says that India is a "Secular" State. In a speech recently made at Raipur, Mr. Nehru is reported to have strongly denounced the talk of a 'Hindu State' or 'Hindu Nation' as "ridiculous and foolish" and added that no one who ever ruled India for the last one thousand years, had ever professed for a Hindu Rashtra and India has been and will ever be a country where everyone, irrespective of his religion would be able to live peacefully and follow his religion.

Mr. Nehru and as a matter of fact, a majority of those who occupy seats of political power along with him, have been applying the term "Secular" to the State of India in a peculiar sense not actually conveyed by that term. "Freedom of Conscience and Worship" is not a right always and necessarily guaranteed by the "Secular" character of a State. But is a 'civil' right invariably conceded by all 'Civil' and 'Democratic' States. Strictly speaking a "Secular" State is one that has no national church and that is free from the domination of the church or the priestly class in temporal matters. A State which is 'secular' properly so called, is therefore 'non-religious' and 'non-clerical'. In fact no State in the world today whether progressive or backward, dictatorial or democratic, socialist or capitalist, excepting the Vatican State, could be called 'Clerical' in the sense that it is ruled or dominated by the priests or the clergy. General Ayub Khan of Pakistan albeit its State religion of Islam, is ruling the country in as 'secular' a way as Mr. Nehru is doing in India, inasmuch as the State is not influenced and guided by Mullas and Moulvis in the day-to-day administration of the country. The Pakistan Government loudly proclaims itself to be as great a defender of the 'civil' rights of the religious minorities in Pakistan as the Indian Government does in this regard. Britain has a National Protestant Church but nevertheless, one must admit, it is the model 'civil' State, according as it does, greater civil, political and religious rights to the minorities than many other so called 'secular' States such as USSR and China.

It will thus be seen that what distinguishes a modern progressive State from a reactionary and backward State, is not its 'secularity', that is, 'non-religiousness' and 'anti-clericalism' but its 'civil' form of Government and administration. In such a 'civil' State whether the subjects belong to the majority or minority groups or whether they belong to the dominant church or some other church, all of them enjoy perfect 'Equality

before the Law,' not only religious but social and political also. A 'civil' State is extremely unwilling to associate itself or interfere with religious denominational affairs of a community. In this connection it may be pointed out that the secularity of Russian and Chinese States has miserably failed in safeguarding even the freedom of conscience and worship of its subjects, not to speak of other 'civil' liberties. So what Mr. Nehru perhaps means by the secularity of his Government is that it does not favour any religious group at the cost of another and allows all castes, communities and groups to follow their avocations peacefully. In this sense his Government could be more aptly described as 'civil' than 'secular'. It is therefore unfortunate that our rulers have been giving a peculiar twist to the meaning of the term 'Secular' and confuse and confound it with the word 'Civil' which connotes much more than strict impartiality towards religions. The latter means and includes also the 'Rule of Law' which protects the civil and democratic liberties of the people. If tomorrow Mr. Nehru and his political associates should succeed in abolishing this Rule of Law—which God forbid—and substitute for it 'The Rule of the Leader', India will have nothing but a reactionary Government notwithstanding its much vaunted secular character.

This confusion is in a great measure, responsible for creating another set of confusions and misunderstandings among the people about the meaning of the word 'Hindu'. It is a fact rather too wellknown that in the eyes of the foreigner, particularly a Westerner, the word 'Hindu' is synonymous with the word 'Indian' and all Indians whether they be Christians, Muslims, Buddhists or those professing Hindu faith, are to them only 'Hindus'. In fact, it was the foreign conquerors and travellers who came to India that first gave the name 'Ind' or 'Hind' to India and called Indian people 'Hindus'. So one is not being fair to Jansanghites when one accuses them of being rabid communalists for using the native word 'Hindu' to convey the sense of the Anglo-Indian word 'Indian'. Even the devil must be given his due, and merely because Congressmen do not like the Janasangha politics, they would not be justified in ascribing to the words Janasanghites use, a meaning which the latter never intended to attach. If we have understood the Janasangha's political philosophy aright, 'Hindu Rashtra' to them means the same thing that England means to Englishmen, Russia to Russians, and Pakistan to Muslims—each country being more or less influenced by the dominant thought and cultural pattern of the majority of the population inhabiting it. We do

not believe that even the Janasangha wants to establish in India a theocratic State of the Hindus, that is, those who profess Hindu faith. To use the phraseology of Mr. Nehru himself 'By far and large' or 'broadly speaking' India of Janasangha conception is a 'Hindu Rashtra' and a 'Hindu State'. Hindu religion as such has nothing to do with it. Therefore we think Jawaharlal Nehru has grossly misinterpreted Indian history in maintaining that India has never known a Hindu Rashtra. Even in the narrow sense of the term 'Hindu', he as a student of history must know that there were purely 'Hindu Kingdoms' even as there were 'Muslim Kingdoms', and Christian States as in Portuguese Goa. The political concept of a 'civil' State is of recent origin and at least in the case of India, it is a political gift of the much-maligned British rulers of India, which Indians have yet to appreciate and fully understand.

Therefore considered from the correct historical perspective and the exact connotation of the word 'Hindu' the idea of 'Hindu Rashtra' though it may be inopportune and inconvenient at the present moment, is not so ridiculous and foolish as Mr. Nehru the 'secularist'—we have our own doubts about Nehru being half so enthusiastic about maintaining the 'civil' character of the Indian State—makes it out to be. Let him not forget that even the framers of the Indian Constitution including himself could not escape the powerful hold of Hindu culture on their minds, when they brought themselves to name our country as 'India that is Bharat' and when they directed that Hindi should be developed by feeding itself on Sanskrit vocabulary. Therefore let us as realists admit the fact that as in the case of every other country, India also has its own dominant culture whether it be called 'Hindu' or 'Bharatiya'.

Nevertheless, it must be conceded that in the context of the bloody Hindu-Muslim feud and the bitter feelings generated in the so called non-violent struggle for India's freedom led by Mr. Nehru himself, the word 'Hindu' has come to acquire a bad odour about it. Particularly the secularism of our Congress friends who were mainly responsible for all this, is simply scandalised by the very mention of this word. And we sympathise with them in their predicament. But we, on our part, are neither enamoured of words like 'Hindu', 'Christian', 'Muslim' which undoubtedly convey at the present time some idea of outdated and obscurantist superstitions and beliefs, nor do we shudder at their very sound as Congressmen suffering from a bad conscience pretend to do. We as Humanists and Liberal-Democrats, however, would very much love to be and remain just 'Citizens of India, that is Bharat'. And we firmly believe that a 'Civil' State in Bharat will succeed more than a mere 'Secular' State in curing the country of any remnants of communal and religious medievalism that still poison her body-politic.

INDIA'S POLICY TOWARDS NEIGHBOURS

Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri's mission to Nepal, from all account, appears to have succeeded in overcoming the initial hurdles of misgivings and fears ranking in the minds of the Nepalese people about India's attitude towards Nepal's status as a sovereign State. It was really an achievement of no mean order, for this small but sturdy Himalayan country to preserve her independence even when the whole of India bit by bit came under the yoke of the British in the nineteenth century. Though independent to a degree, Nepal always remained within the British sphere of influence. The same policy inherited from the British, India sought to pursue towards Nepal, without having the requisite strength and diplomacy that the British summoned to the task. The results were disastrous for both. But China's aggression on India and her massing of troops on Nepal's borders must have now opened the eyes of King Mahendra who out of resentment at India's paternalistic attitude towards Nepal, had been drifting towards China and away from India.

The Government of India also seems to have realised the urgent necessity of keeping India's frontiers safe and secure with the friendly co-operation of these border States. In fact, India's foreign policies will be judged and tested by her ability to win Nepal, Pakistan and other neighbouring coun-

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tries over to her side in the present Sino-Indian war.

It is to be hoped that initial success that Mr. Shastri has achieved in his talks with King Mahendra will eventuate soon into a fuller understanding and closer alliance between Nepal and India. The key to India's victory over China in the present conflict lies in successfully forging close and unbreakable links with her immediate neighbours rather than with doubtful 'friends' like Russia. First things must be done first.

SILLY AND SENSELESS

The thirteen peacemongers led by the notorious pro-Phizo and anti-Indian Bishop Michael Scott and the disgruntled politician Shankarrao Deo have started on foot from Rajghat at Delhi on their peace-making journey to Peking. They are expected to reach the borders of China via Burma after a long and weary march lasting for eighteen months. They hope to convert Mao and his colleagues to their way of thinking and turn them into the 'Bhais' of India once again.

We are, of course, used to such foolish stunts of Sarvodayawadis. But we wonder how the Government of India who have been sadly disillusioned about China-India Bhai Bhaism, could persuade themselves to issue visas to these Musketeers, when they are not doing so in the case of others who intend going abroad on worthier errands and for more ennobling causes. The foolishness of this whole affair is all the more heightened by the fact that the Chinese Government have not yet issued admission passes to these strange pilgrims. Not only that. The Chinese papers have even gone to the length of condemning these peace missionaries as 'agents of American imperialism' and 'representatives of the Indian Bourgeoisie'.

This silly and senseless gesture of goodwill made to China by these peace-mongers will have only one result. It will present to the outside world a none too happy picture of India being a nation led by leaders who can never be awakened from their world of 'dreams and fancies' even when India's very existence is threatened by a wily and wicked foe knocking at her very doors.

ASIAN COMMON MARKET, A FAR CRY

Regional approach to economic problems has now been made fashionable by the European Common Market. The ECAFE conference held in Manila has also tried its hand, be it ever so feeble, at the formation of the Asian Common Market. As the President of the conference claims, the conference seems to have taken a first step, though a halting and hesitating one, in this direction by adopting a resolution on the economic co-operation among the five-member Asian Nations who constitute it. But the projected Asian Common Market presents certain difficult problems. In the first place all these Asian

countries except Japan are industrially backward and too poor and their economies naturally are not complementary to one another as in the case of the E.C.M. countries. Then again these countries have adopted different paths of industrialisation to end their colossal poverty which is the only common feature of all these countries,—some adopting the methods of private enterprise and some others like India openly experimenting with socialist planning. These divergent factors may act as a formidable and powerful brake on the progress of the work of bringing into existence a Common Market for these countries.

For the present, industrialisation is the major problem before the Asian nations and therefore ECAFE had better concentrate all its energies on fulfilling the modest goal of promoting intra-regional commerce and trade between Asian countries and on initiating joint enterprises in selected economic spheres. Apart from Government-initiated planning of these countries who have necessarily to depend for the purpose, upon foreign loans and foreign economic aid especially from the Western powers, these countries will have to develop private enterprise side by side, if they wish to rapidly industrialise themselves.

This alternative way of industrialisation would enable these countries to secure for themselves sufficient capital from foreign private agencies as also technical aid and experience. Japan has already shown the way. So a proper and practical scheme will have to be worked out by ECAFE to create a proper economic climate for attracting foreign private capital to Asian countries. In face of these initial formidable tasks claiming the urgent attention of the Asian countries the Asian Common Market must necessarily be considered a far cry.

— D. M. Kulkarni

FOOD FOR THOUGHT

"Nationalisation and Planning, the catch phrases of the immediate post-war period, have lost their appeal and even in the socialist camp, the response is now weak. Such enthusiastic reception as they still find—together with nationalism—seems to be concentrated in the so-called undeveloped countries, with their Nehrus and Sukarnos and Nassers or whatever their names may be. But even in these areas, a cooling off may be expected in the near future."

—Wilhelm Ropke (Human Economy).

"Annual income twenty pounds, annual expenditure nineteen and six—result, happiness. Annual income twenty pounds, annual expenditure twenty and six—result, misery".

—Dickens (Micawbar).

"THE NATION WHICH CAN BE SAVED BY ONE MAN AND WANTS TO BE SAVED THAT WAY DESERVES A WHIPPING".

—Seume.

An Unnecessary Revolution

By M. A. VENKATA RAO

The Russian and Communist revolutions have not established economic equality; nor has the common man a standard of living higher than that in the Czarist times. And above all people in all ranks conspire to escape from the the 'paradise' of Communism, Russia and China. So, for India and her people, Communist revolution is totally unnecessary. Better results could be obtained in India through democratic and gradualist means without Socialism and violence as in Britain, Scandinavia, Switzerland and U.S.A.

A blight has fallen on Indian life from the days of defeat at the hands of Mussalmans. India has not been able to assimilate Islam as she did the Hunas so triumphantly, who became Rajputs among Kshatriyas and Hindus of Hindus.

Nor could she drive them out. Nor keep them confined in a corner of the country.

The South at least held the Muslim Bahmani kingdoms above the river Krishna from 1300 to 1565 and later in a truncated form through the Vijayanagar empire.

When the British began to assume political power in the eighteenth century, Indian social and political life had already collapsed. It was only waiting like a ripe plum to fall into the lap of any Power with a tolerable degree of social discipline.

British officials have recorded that they could get battalions of Indian servants for a couple of rupees each per month! Every Tommy could have a dozen peons to wait on him. The secret (at least one of the most potent secrets) of this extraordinary phenomenon was the utter collapse of Indian economy. The East India Company was the only employer in India, civil or military, who paid wages and salaries punctually on the first of every month!

During the agitation against the Rana of Nepal in 1950-51, the present writer who toured the Nepal border heard that, though the Rana had forty thousand troops on his payroll, he could use only the 300 men of the Palace body-guard at Khatmandu against Congress agitators! Why? Because the vast majority of the Ghorka sepoys had **not been paid** for years! They were cultivating their lands at home and stayed in their hill-side hamlets!

The Rana lived in the eighteenth century when after the defeat of Nepalese troops to the Company's army at Sagauli, the British could recruit Ghurkhas to their army! Regular pay overbore traditional loyalty.

The Indian civil and military service with its large component of Indians proved efficient and loyal till the defeat of British arms in the East at the hands of the Japanese in 1942-43. The Indian apparatus of administration and fighting and police could hold out for **two centuries!**

It is clear that conventional morality in the sense of the rules of right and wrong, good and bad cannot guarantee national independence and beneficent government. Nor can it save any people from invasion by aggressive nations who feel that they can get away with it.

India's case against the Chinese may be **morally right** but that will not help her to save her freedom from being engulfed by the Chinese hordes.

What is needed is **social organisation**, social cohesion, leadership inspiring resolute and devoted loyalty on the part of the people and an all-out effort to mobilise the economic and psychological resources of the people.

All debilitating customs should be cast away. All sections of the people should come together in a great common effort and display team-spirit and exceptional endurance.

Contemplating the condition of communist countries like Russia and China, one cannot but feel that the kind of revolution that they have undergone and the kind of State system that they are now running, with its total mobilisation of manpower and total centralisation of economic effort and abolition of personal freedoms of all kinds—are **too costly a price** to pay for any benefits that they may bring. The evil outweighs by far any good that may ensue.

There is sufficient evidence today about the life of various strata of the people in Russia, China and the other communist countries to arrive at a fair and just judgment about their claims to bring welfare and progress.

It may be that military science and military weaponry including missiles and space ships and nuclear explosives have progressed far on account of the surplus compulsorily earmarked for them in a slave economy.

But in the essentials of welfare such as abundance of the means of living, an ever-increasing standard of living and expanding leisure, a progressive approach to social and economic equality, greater opportunities for popular culture, on a free basis, "greater joy in widest commonality spread" a rise in the quality of life and capacity through voluntary eugencies or selective marriages, greater opportunities for dis-

covery and invention, more museums, picture galleries, better music (and more widely available), better drama and opera (and more cheaply available), better homes for all and so on.

The **raison d'être** of the Russian communist revolution was economic equality. It was felt that the French Revolution brought only political equality—namely equality in the matter of the vote. But the essential and far more degrading inequality in economic condition remained as oppressive as ever.

The sovereign worker had the **freedom to starve**, if he struck work for higher wages or if he was dismissed for the convenience of the employer.

The mad career of capitalist economy through its crises of **boom and bust** continued to dislocate the lives of millions.

But the Russian and the Chinese communist revolutionary Governments and the social and economic systems that they have evolved have **not** solved any problem that vexed the common man and the sensitive conscience before 1914.

They have **not established economic equality**. Today, as the Russian authorities themselves admit, the spread between the lowest and the highest incomes in Soviet Russia is as wide (if not wider) as in the U.S.A! Scientists, managers, marshals, ministers are paid a **hundred times** more than the ordinary man!

Nor has the common man a standard of living perceptibly higher than in Tsarist times. Food is still scarce. Clothing is still costly and only meagre rations are given to the common man in Russia and China. Nor have the ordinary people got apartments or houses of **their own** even after forty years of totalitarian planning!

Above all, people in all ranks plot and conspire to **escape from the "paradise" of communism** (Russia and China) at the risk of death! The commune has failed miserably in China. Tens of thousands of starving people had to be allowed to escape to Hongkong last year!

Why then should the Indian communist party be allowed to mislead the ignorant masses and innocent, lazy, tender-minded and irresponsible fellow travellers and become a power in the land? They will assist the enemy and act like a fifth column which is their **avowed doctrine and strategy**.

The only justification for the party and the only intelligible motive for them is **to capture power and to rule the country!** This has become an end in itself for them. Otherwise, their devoted work for the movement for the greater part of their lives would have to go waste!

But, for the country and people, the Communist revolution is **totally unnecessary**. Better results have been attained by way of welfare through democratic and gradualist means, in Britain, the Scandinavian countries, Switzerland and the USA and can be attained **without socialism and violence** in our country as well.

It nevertheless, **Communism comes to India**, it will be the result of social weakness, the failure, if not the betrayal of the intellectuals, and the criminal sentimentality and tender-mindedness of fellow travellers!

Individual ethics, religious devotion and purity and customary morality even at their best will **not save** the country.

It is only **conscious organisation** against the peril in all its dimensions—psychological, moral, economic, propagandist, political etc.—that can save the country.

The hour is already very late, with so many communist agents and fellow travellers in the services, the press, in Congress and Parliament in addition to the Communist Party of India itself.

ANARCHIST PRINCIPLES

1. Anarchists want the greatest possible happiness for every individual.

2. Since every individual depends on others for many of his needs, co-operation and social responsibility are also essential for a free and happy life.

3. Anarchists aim ultimately at a free society: that is, a society organised for the equal benefit of all its members. They think that worthwhile step can be taken now towards the creation of such a society.

4. **Government.** Anarchists are opposed to any social organisation that involves one person, or a group of persons, imposing their will on others, however the power to do so may have been achieved. Therefore, they do not vote in elections. They refuse to take part in, and actively oppose, those activities of governments that are particularly harmful.

5. **Social organization.** Anarchists favour organization in the form of self-governing communities, sufficiently small for every member to retain his individuality. Decisions important to the community as a whole should be taken by an assembly of all its members. Many successful approaches to this type of organization are being made at present, both when the purpose is mainly therapeutic—that is, to repair the damage done by the existing society—and when the purpose is simply the achievement of a full and satisfying life.

6. **Law.** In a free society, no laws are envisaged. Contracts would depend upon mutual respect. Under the present system, anarchists particularly oppose, and where appropriate ignore, laws that arbitrarily restrict the liberty of the individual (for example, those concerned with national boundaries, conscription, marriage, and censorship).

7. **Economic organization.**

INDUSTRY. Industries should be controlled by those who work in them, or by the community of which they form part. Production should aim at filling the needs of the community, and if possible those of less fortunate communities, and not at making a profit for the few at the expense of the many.

8. **Religion.** In a free society, all religions would be tolerated, but attempts by the supporters of any dogma to impose their ideas on others would be resisted. In fact, most anarchists are not religious, since they consider that nearly all forms of religion contain an element of authoritarianism.

—J. K. R. in **Freedom**, London.

The Philosophy of Jaya Prakash Narain

By M. N. THOLAL

The author argues cogently against Mr. Jayaprakash Narain's lack of political realism as reflected in his Convocation address at Rajasthan University. If Mr. Narain's advice of 'non-violent resistance' were to be followed, Indians would have to vacate the country for the Chinese by courting death as a nation. The author says that Indians committed to democracy need to be pro-democratic rather than neutral, as against those who like the Chinese Reds are out to destroy Indian democracy. Those who are neutral even in the present crisis, are either muddled-headed or are Communists and pro-Chinese at heart.

FOR sheer lack of realism Mr. Jaya Prakash Narain easily carries away the palm. Addressing the 15th Convocation of Rajasthan University at Jaipur the other day, he said the Colombo powers should be prepared to **compel** the Chinese to accept adjudication through The Hague Court in case India and China could not resolve their dispute through mutual talks. If he had used the words "try to persuade" for "compel", there might have been some sense in the proposition, though its futility would have, even in that case, been apparent to those who know the Chinese Communist mind. As it is, if the Colombo powers were to take him seriously, they might ask him how they are to compel the Chinese to accept the adjudication through The Hague Court. (They might even ask him to persuade the Indian Government to accept such adjudication in respect of Kashmir and thus set an example.) Compulsion can only be through force. Mr. Narayan is in effect asking those powers, who have avoided condemning the Chinese invasion of India, to take resort to arms to make China reasonable.

Mr. Narain also said that peace-loving nations should see that China should not find an excuse to wriggle out of just and negotiated settlement. China's standpoint is that a just and negotiated settlement is exactly what she wants. She has her own ideas of justice, some of which she has translated into practice in Tibet. (Incidentally, why should not the case of Tibet also be referred to the Hague Court?) And where are the peace-loving nations he has in mind, and recognised as such by China? The moment they begin following Mr. Narain's advice, and accepting his standards of justice, they will cease to be peace-loving in China's eyes, and as non-existent as the just and negotiated settlement out of which these peace-loving nations are to see that China does not wriggle.

It does not seem to strike him that the Colombo powers are doing their bit for non-alignment to which they are committed, because the Chinese invasion of India discredits non-alignment as well as those who follow it. Its basis is the East-West equation, which the Chinese have demolished. If the services of the Colombo powers are acceptable to China, it is because China is keenly interested in the non-aligned nations, particularly India, remaining non-aligned, and wants to promote non-alignment as

well as that pro-Communist nonsense, Afro-Asian solidarity.

NONVIOLENT RESISTANCE

Mr. Narain devoted the major part of his address to unfold his proposition that India should consider the possibility of offering non-violent resistance to the Chinese aggressor. The proposition is certainly honest, much more so than the one advanced by Dr. Rajendra Prasad at a seminar on non-violence some years ago. He then said India had evolved the theory and it was now for some country to translate it into practice. Obviously, it is for those who believe in the theory of non-violence to practise it, and it is for Gandhi's numerous (?) followers in this country to join Acharya Vinoba Bhave's Shanti Sena and proceed to liberate the parts of Ladakh and NEFA under Chinese occupation. A more splendid opportunity will never come their way, for the Chinese are in need of labourers on the border and they are bound to welcome Mr. Narayan's unarmed battalions of non-violent soldiers, whose creed will naturally persuade them to behave as ideal prisoners in Chinese hands and to do their bidding enthusiastically. Mr. Narayan is therefore absolutely right when he says that this is the time to talk of non-violence and not later, indeed, not only to talk of it but to practise it.

Mr. Narain added, however, that he was not questioning the current defence effort, nor the use of force in case there was an immediate resumption of aggression. But the inevitable transformation of our Shanti Sena into a Chinese labour force can hardly be construed as promoting India's war effort. It will, on the contrary, obviously promote China's war effort. For those who entertain any doubt regarding the transformation referred to above, may be recalled the general opinion of Gandhites in 1942 when the Japanese were at our gates. They were unanimously of the opinion that there could be no question of non-co-operation or civil disobedience under Japanese rule, with which they would have willy-nilly to co-operate. In other words, as I told them at the time, even our non-co-operation and civil disobedience was a tribute to British humanitarianism.

TANSFOMATION INTO CORPSES

Mr. Narain is again right when he says that even the biggest army cannot guarantee success in war, "but if the path of Ahimsa was followed no country could ever go on its knees even if its

Joint Sino-Pak Attack On India ?

(From Our Correspondent)

At a special meeting of the Punjab Citizens Council on March 3, Prime Minister Nehru said that he would not rule out the possibility of a fresh Chinese attack before the onset of the monsoon. Fighting in NEFA, according to him, will become difficult after the rains, but is possible in Ladakh even during the monsoon. At a public meeting at Rohtak later Mr. Nehru said China was still massing large forces in Tibet and another attack might come any time.

The American Assistant Secretary of State, Mr. Averell Harriman, in a television interview in Washington on March 9, said there might be a long period of cease-fire, or the Chinese might decide in Ladakh, for instance, to attack again, in order to show their domination.

In an interview with a correspondent of the Bonn newspaper, **General Anzeiger**, published on March 13, President Ayub said, "Should Pakistan and India resume fighting over the Kashmir issue, there can be no doubt that the winner will be Communism. The loser will be the rest of the world."

Stringing these three news items together suggests the possibility of a simultaneous attack, in Ladakh to begin with, by China and Pakistan. When President Ayub talks of the resumption of fighting between India and Pakistan he has doubtless in mind resumption by Pakistan, for resumption by India at a time when she is preparing to defend herself against China must be obviously out of the question for every sane mind. Also, on an issue on which Pakistan has been feeling so strongly since she came into being, it would seem that an attack on India by her in alliance with China is not beyond the bounds of possibility, having regard in particular to the haste with which Sino-Pak boundary differences have been settled by the two countries. Not to bear this in mind is to indulge in complacency which is the bane of Indian politics.

Indeed, if Pakistan has been in earnest in her threats of war against India over Kashmir, the present would appear to be a Heaven-sent opportunity for her. Instead of concentrating our wishful attention on Sino-Russian differences, we would do well to try to realise what the present opportunity amounts to, for both Pakistan and China. We shall, if the simultaneous attack materialises, be fighting both the blocs, absolutely friendless. Where enemies are concerned the part of wisdom is to anticipate the worst.

Our Prime Minister has been complaining of the "time-consuming" methods, implicit in the Western Air Mission, assesment of

our aerial defence requirements and their scrutiny by their respective governments. The American Secretary of State, Mr. Rusk, has assured us of all possible help in the event of another attack by China, but surely aid will take some time in materialising, and time will be of the essence in meeting a blitz. And what if the attack is by both Pakistan and China? Will the promised American assistance against China be forthcoming in that case? Obviously not. For, it is no part of American policy to render assistance to two non-Communist parties to fight each other. Surely the American and British Governments cannot but be aware of the "time-consuming" nature of the methods being employed by them in the matter of assessing our requirements and meeting them. And cannot this delay be interpreted as pressure on India to come to terms with Pakistan, without which, in their opinion, adequate defence of the sub-continent against China would not be possible?

INDO-PAK TALKS

The Indo-Pakistan talks have been dragging on and it is perhaps something to be grateful for that they are at least dragging on, instead of collapsing. United States Ambassador J. K. Galbraith told newsmen in Calcutta on March 15 that his country's interest in the current Indo-Pak talks on Kashmir was limited to furthering the efforts of the two Governments to a better understanding of their problems. This in itself is obviously a very comprehensive effort. He denied that the western representatives were "looking over the shoulders" of the participants in the talks held in Calcutta, but declared that he would rather face the criticism of "being too concerned than I would the criticism of being too negligent." This is of course an open admission of the deep American interest, for obvious reasons, in the success of the talks.

Indeed, the American Ambassador made it plain. He said the defence of the sub-continent was primarily and overwhelmingly the problem of the countries of the sub-continent, but the United States no doubt took warm and sympathetic interest in the problem, the interest stemming from its serious concern with the security of the sub-continent, to which the United States had committed very heavy resources. He pointed out that it was reasonably clear that the Chinese interest "is not in seeing better understanding among the non-Communist countries along its border" and that "there can be no question that we are seeking unity and understanding and the Chinese are seeking division."

Mr. Galbraith might well have said, "United you stand, divided you fall". But he diplomatically refrained from saying so, and added instead that the impression he had gained from personal experience after having talked with good many people about it was that there was "a deep and responsible sense of urgency regarding a Kashmir settlement in India". Mr. Galbraith perhaps does not know that the people of India, often out of sheer politeness, do not differ from the person spoken to, specially if he happens to occupy a high office. This correspondent's impression on the subject is just the reverse and, as my contacts with my countrymen are naturally much more intimate than the American Ambassador's, the information gained thereby must be regarded as much more correct.

Those who realise the urgency of the settlement should rather press for the problem being handled by The Hague Court, rather than expect a popular response to any suggestions which look like pleas for conceding territory to Pakistan, and which may in any case run counter to the spirit of jingoism natural in a people still bitter over partition and the fruits thereof. The question really is of putting first things first and of realising who the enemy is and its strength as well as backing, in short, of swallowing the bitter pill in the national interest. Educated men now accuse the Nehru Government of having mistaken the enemy for the friend and the friend for the enemy over the last decade and more. They hardly realise that by their attitude over the Kashmir issue, they themselves are still, if inadvertently, serving the cause of China and Communism.

The loudest against any partitioning of Kashmir are and will be the Communists. Does any one think that they are therefore the greatest patriots in the land? A safe rule for those who have no time to think out things for themselves, or cannot do so, is to be guided by the anti-method, sure in the belief that whatever the Communists advocate in international affairs is for the country's liberation by their fatherland, for which they frankly stand. Above all, we Indians should try to remember that Indo-Pak accord on Kashmir will be the greatest blow to China and discord on the issue is fraught with the gravest dangers.

On Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari's mission to the United States, Mr. Galbraith said it would provide an opportunity to get a "very wide angle discussion of Indian military production plans and the requirements in connection with their development". Indeed, he went so far as to say: "We stand ready to talk with Mr. Krishnamachari about anything on India's defence. Our response will be just as wide as his brief." Fellow-travellers, however, have started agitating against any concessions to Pakistan on Kashmir and, unfortunately enough for the country, find the Jana-Sanghis fellow-travelling with them on this issue. That is why the best course

in the circumstances is to send the issue to The Hague Court and prove our bonafides in the matter. If the Hague Court is good enough to decide our border dispute with China, it should be good enough to decide our border dispute with Pakistan.

DELHI-PEKING MARCH

In a statement he issued at Bulandshahr on March 8 Mr. Shanker Rao Deo, leader of the Delhi-Peking peace march, said he was deeply grieved to read Press reports originating from Paris and Hongkong, saying that the march was an "anti-China conspiracy" organised by a "group of Indian reactionaries" or a "handful of anti-China elements in collusion with American imperialism". Mr. Deo says that the "criticism is based on an unfortunate misunderstanding of our position" and that "it has been made abundantly clear that the march is essentially and fundamentally the expression of sincere desire to establish direct communication between the people of India and China". But surely Mr. Deo ought to know by this time that this desire "to establish direct communication" with the people of China is a very anti-Chinese-Government desire and, insofar as the Chinese Government claims to represent the people of China, the former is entitled to call the Delhi-Peking March "an anti-China conspiracy". This slurring over basic realities, such as a Communist Government's monopoly of indoctrination in its land, can hardly be credited to ignorance. What then is it to be credited to? This kind of logic is as common in India as it is deceptive, and the attempt to fool others, as if through self-deception, only lands those who believe in such things in trouble. Politics is a job for the hard-boiled who do not stop in their ratiocination at a certain point because their pose will not allow them to go further. Nothing is more suicidal.

The budget debate has been overshadowed by revelations of "pompous living" by our ministers as proved by the electricity consumed in their residencies, with the current charges amounting to nearly Rs. 600 in the case of the Home Minister. What they preach is apparently not for them to practise. As for the budget the best comment would appear to be that the Finance Minister is making hay while the sun of emergency shines, though even that would not be enough for the colossal task before the country, necessitating as it does military aid on a colossal scale.

"The one object in life is the development of the mind and first condition for the development of the mind is that it should have liberty."

—Renan.

"Every actual State is corrupt. Good men should not obey the laws too well".

—Ralph Waldo Emerson.

knowledge and efficiency will be circumscribed and retarded.

Foreign scholars will of course give up the job as a hopeless one. Isolation of the Universities will then be complete. In fact the Universities will no longer be seats of higher learning and sources of new ideas that they are today.

In the National interests it is therefore essential that education imparted in all our Universities should be of high quality and the professors and the Readers employed should be scholars of eminence. The result of making the regional language the medium of instruction in the University will, in substance, close the portals of these educational institutions to efficient scholars and worthy men.

In most cities there is a considerable proportion of non-regional students (in Bombay they are actually in a majority). If India is not to break up into small linguistic units on the model of Europe, we cannot tell them that no arrangements could be made for their higher education except through a regional language.

"It would be inconceivable" Prof. V. K. Gokak, Director of the Central Institute of English, Hyderabad declared "to think of a graduate in Arts or Science or indeed in any of the professional courses, who is conversant with the latest development in his field of study, without a knowledge of English or some other European language. And English would be the easiest European language for us to study, since there has been a tradition in the teaching of English in the country for well over a century."

Dr. I. I. Rabi, the American Nobel Laureate when he visited India said "You can't have an emotional approach to a language; You can only assess its value as a medium of communication." He argued that since the greatest scientific literature of to-day is mainly in English language, any one who wished to study any of the sciences would have to do it through the medium of English. He warned that abolition of English in India would mean the creation of class differences as "the elite would have to learn English any way" English being a window on the world.

Countries like Russia, Germany, Italy, France, Japan, etc., in spite of having their own languages well developed, are learning English language and they are taking considerable pains to teach English to the pupils in schools and colleges. Are we greater than Russia, Germany and France, etc., in the field of scientific development? When they are advocating learning of English, our so called patriots like Jaya Prakash Narayan want to discard it. It is a tragedy that we have such people in our midst with confused ideas and notions.

As true citizens of our country we must learn the regional language, Sanskrit and English. Hindi will in no way be in a position

to meet the cultural or educational needs of non-Hindi people. The Hindi protagonists and zealots lack foresight and they want to impose Hindi on non-Hindi people. This is quite similar to the Chinese aggression on our frontiers. The U.P. wallahs, who constitute the majority in the Union Cabinet are not intellectually competent to decide the all-India issue of the national language. Let us therefore pledge ourselves to discard Hindi and uphold English as the Lingua Franca of India so that India might be truly integrated internally and be enabled to keep herself abreast of the progressive and enlightened countries of the world.

Book Review

PATTERNS OF CULTURE by Dr. Ruth Benedict. A mentor Book published by the New American Library of World Literature, New York. It is being issued every year from 1946. First published in 1934 as a study in anthropology by the author. 272 pages. Price 35 cents.

The new exhilaration for reading in wide masses in the English-speaking world after the world wars carried the paperback editions in millions to high success. In addition to light literature serving the purpose of **escape** and **recreation**, the new publishers found that they could introduce many classics of science and philosophy, art and religion, sociology and psychology, politics and history into the popular series with success. In this way, many works of genius opening new horizons entered into the reading of millions.

Alexis Carrel's **Man the Unknown** and Dr. Whitehead's **Adventures of Ideas** come to mind in this category.

This book by a competent student of anthropology in the USA, a pupil of Dr. Boas who has written a foreword, belongs in this series of serious literature, **literature, of knowledge** as contrasted with, that of **power** or emotional appeal like drama. The publisher says that it has ranked as a best-seller in recent years!

It is a fine example of non-technical exposition to the general reader of a growing science in its latest form without sacrifice of accuracy and depth. The author does not write down to the reader. She lifts him up to the level of scientific thinking and broad survey and careful generalisation leading to illuminating vistas, whetting the appetite for further knowledge.

The work is also close to human interests and values and will contribute to a true liberalisation of outlook tending to free the modern reader from current prejudices like race prejudices (e.g. anti-semitism, anti-Negroism etc.). It helps to distinguish between what is local and temporary from what is permanent and essential in human motives and drives.

The study passes from the old manner of treating primitive culture in general to the method of dealing with concrete cultures in their **situ** and wholeness.

The book contains fairly detailed studies of three primitive cultures of living peoples the Zuni Indians of New Mexico, the Kwakwaka'wakw of Vancouver Island and the Dpbus of Melanesia.

Her general point of view is presented lucidly in the first three chapters—the science of custom, the division of cultures and the integration of cultures. This is followed by

three longish chapters in which the three primitive cultures chosen for study, contrast and comparison are described vividly from her own analytical and synthetical point of view.

The last three chapters bring together her reflections on the results of her study and their bearing on current Western civilisation and their contribution to what may be called **liberation from superstitions** of all kinds and to the realisation of a universal and rational humanism.

Darwin, she points out, turned to an examination of beetles, for a simpler revelation of biological **structure**, which was overlaid with confused detail in species closer to man. So modern anthropology in the work of its best students turns to simpler societies for a glimpse of essential human structures, motivations and values.

Dr. Benedict's point of view is that of a believer in **configuration or Gestalt** in culture.

Every culture tends to develop its trails into a constellation of related units. Such integrations occur in many degrees. **Some tribes live in a culture ensurable of loosely jointed units.**

But the trend is towards **integration**.

Her thought resembles that of Dr. Spengler but is more cautious. For she explicitly disavows the idea that advanced modern civilisations like the Western could be explained in terms of single comprehensive destiny ideas like the Faustian aspiration for the Infinite as Dr. Spengler does.

Modern societies are too stratified and to heterogeneous for that.

But she does make intelligible and convincing use of Nietzsche's distinction between the Apollonian and Dionysian views of life. One of the tribes, displays the former and another the latter, according to Dr. Benedict.

The book is a contribution to general education and helps to free the mind from parochial narrownesses and deserves to be translated into all Indian languages and issued in a cheap edition comparable to the present Mentor Edition in English.

—M. A. VENKATA RAO.

Gleanings from the Press

PEACOCKRY OF INDIA GOVERNMENT

India will not come to terms with Pakistan, though any schoolboy can see from the map that the country cannot be defended against China if Pakistan is hostile. The Western powers have dropped very broad hints on this matter, but India has ignored their suggestions. The Government has made it quite plain that it suspects the intentions of the Western powers and will not allow them even to set up air bases in its territory. India is satisfied with her attempt to hold off China through the diplomatic intervention of Russia and the Afro-Asian circus. Only if all else fails will she condescend to take help from the white imperialists.

It is clear from the Western press that people there realise this and that already many of them are having second thoughts about giving help where it is so evidently unwelcome. Kennedy and his advisers are firm, and last week again he assured India of support. But in foreign affairs especially, the American President is not complete master of the situation; the notoriously touchy Senate has great influence. Delhi should not take too much for granted.

The peacockry of the Government of India threatens the public with unendurable economic hardship and undermines their morale. It encourages China to press her attack, while it places unnecessary obstacles in the way of military support from the Western powers, and may in time lead them to reconsider the whole policy of giving support to India. It is a heavy price to pay for the temporary satisfaction of a few people's vanity.

—MYS-INDIA.

News & Views

KHRUSHCHEV SELLS INDIA TO PEKING

WASHINGTON, March 17.

The results of Mr. Khrushchev's **zigzag foreign policy** which at present is leading him in the direction of Peking, would need to be watched in India.

Not to annoy Moscow and not to compromise its position in relation to Peking is one "must" of current Indian thinking. It acts as a brake in our defence negotiation with the U.S.

But the U. S. goes along with India's policy, for it has bright side. Neither country wants Russia to fall into Peking's lap.

Now that Moscow is moving nearer Peking at Peking's terms in some ways a closer vigilance is called for lest Moscow sells India to Peking to recreate communist unity.

PLAYING PEKING'S TUNE

That Moscow is effortfully playing Peking's tune is indicated by a variety of events:

1. It has suspended the delivery of oil to France to bolster and abet the coal strike in the country. This is an unprecedented measure in the trade relations of any two countries.

2. It has staged extremely rowdy demonstrations against the Iraqi Embassy to protest against the imprisonment of communists by its new regime.

3. According to "Herald Tribune" News Service report, the Soviet Communist Party has sent a confidential memorandum to its counterparts in Eastern Europe suggesting a tougher policy towards Syria, Iraq, Yemen and the U.A.R. In all these countries, communists have a bad time, though some of them receive economic and military aid from Russia.

While the probability is that India has not much to fear, the possibility of China striking a hard bargain with Moscow remains. The question would be what happens to India's dependence on Soviet technology in oil and other sensitive spheres. It is perhaps not an accident that Soviet assistance to India falls within the extremely strategic areas.

—Times of India News Service.

MILITARY AID TO INDIA DOUBLED

NEW DELHI

Australia has announced her decision to double her aid to India as "originally announced in November last to bring the total to approximately two million pounds (A).

The assistance, according to the Australian Foreign Minister, Sir Garfield Barwick, would help India improve her defence capacity in case of renewed Chinese attack.

The announcement, made in Canberra on March 10 by the Foreign Minister, also said that rifles and ammunition, originally offered against credit, had now been shipped to India as a gift, according to a Press release by the High Commission for Australia in New Delhi.

LARGEST U. S. INTEREST-FREE LOAN TO INDIA

The Governments of India and the United States concluded an agreement in New Delhi last week providing for an American loan of \$240 million (Rs. 114 crores). The loan will help import a wide range of raw material, machinery, and chemicals to carry forward India's Third Five-Year Plan goals.

Mr. L. K. Jha, Secretary, Ministry of Finance, Department of Economic Affairs signed for the Government of India. Ambassador John Kenneth Galbraith represented the United States.

India's Finance Minister Morarji Desai presided over the signing ceremony.

Speaking on the occasion, Ambassador Galbraith noted that the \$240 million transaction is "the largest dollar loan without any interest ever made by the United States."

It is the largest loan of its kind that America has made anywhere since the days of the Marshall Plan, he added.

Mr. Morarji replied:

"My first thoughts at the signing of what you have called the largest dollar loan without interest ever made by the United States are naturally those of deepest appreciation for the generosity with which the Government and the people of the United States have been helping us, as indeed they have helped other nations from year to year..."

"Apart from its size and scope, this loan is all the more welcome for its generous terms of repayment, which as you said will be spread over 40 years with no repayment for the first 10 years without any interest payment and with only a credit charge of 3/4 of one per cent."

ENGLISH STIR IN GUJERAT

AHMEDABAD.

The Parents Association, Ahmedabad, has decided to launch a mass movement from the next academic term in June to press its demand, namely, teaching of English from fifth standard.

At present English is taught in the State from the eighth standard.

The Association said that it had started organising middle class people on ward basis for launching the movement.

The exact nature of the movement has not been disclosed so far. The Association would also demand teaching of modern arts in schools. The study of charkha, imposed by the "anti-English forces" is sought to be discontinued.

A meeting of the Gujarat State Secondary School Teachers' Conference recently held at Talod had also demanded teaching of English from the fifth standard.

NEHRU FEARS CONFLICT ON HINDI

BHOPAL.

The Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru, is understood to have

told a meeting of Congress workers here that Hindi could not be adopted at the Centre as a medium of official work as that would affect the interests of those people who do not speak Hindi and would therefore lead to differences. Hindi was all right in Hindi-speaking areas, he added.

Mr. Nehru, who also made a reference to Hindi teaching in non-Hindi areas, said a language could never be imposed on any body. Although people in the South were opposed to Hindi, they were learning the language in great numbers. After some time they would speak Hindi better than the people of Hindi-speaking areas.

Mr. Nehru is also understood to have spoken of the backwardness of Hindi-speaking areas. He mentioned in this context Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan and Bihar.

NO HOPE FOR UNDERDEVELOPED NATIONS

NEW YORK, March 11 (AP).—Mr. Aldous Huxley, the illustrious author-scientist, yesterday forecast gloom for underdeveloped nations of the world.

"The population of underdeveloped nations is multiplying so quickly that, in 10 or 20 years from now, they may be in worse condition than today," Mr. Huxley said.

At the same time, if war can be avoided, industrialized nations should be able to eliminate virtually all poverty, he said.

The contrast creates a danger, Mr. Huxley said in a pamphlet issued by the Centre for the Study of Democratic Institutions.

He said that "extreme poverty, when combined with ignorance breeds that lack of desire for better things which has been called 'wantlessness'—the resigned acceptance of a subhuman lot."

But that same poverty, combined with the knowledge that other nations are rich "breeds envious desires and the expectations that these desires must, of necessity, and very soon, be satisfied, he said.

"From disappointment, through resentful frustration, to widespread social unrest the road is short," Mr. Huxley said.

"Shorter still is the road from social unrest, through chaos, to dictatorship, possibly of the Communist Party, more probably of generals and colonels."

"Death control is easy, cheap and be carried out by a small force of technicians," he asserted. "Birth-control, on the other hand, is rather expensive, involves the whole adult population, and demands of those who practise it a good deal of forethought and directed will-power."

The task of changing age-old ideas and habits in underdeveloped nations "is so huge and so difficult that it seems very unlikely that it can be successfully carried out, within a sufficiently short space of time, in any of the countries where control of the birth rate is most urgently needed," he said.

'ACCEPT AID FROM WEST FOR DEFENCE'

POONA.

Mr. H. M. Patel, former Secretary of Ministry of Defence, declared that India should not have any hesitation in

accepting whatever assistance the Western powers were prepared to give for defence against China and Pakistan.

Mr. Patel who was speaking on "the defence of India" on the foundation day of the Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics here, warned that in preparing for a possible conflict with China and Pakistan. We have not only a military problem but also a major internal security problem."

He suggested "we may without hesitation trust our service chiefs to evolve, with the assistance of their staff and such foreign expert advice as is available to them, a sound military doctrine."

He said "even if you adopt the policy of non-alignment as your foreign policy you cannot let it override the basic goal of your foreign policy, namely, the security of your country."

RAJAJI READY TO LEAD NATION

MADRAS.

Mr. C. Rajagopalchari said here that if given the charge of affairs, he could show that the present emergency could be managed quite well without imposing such crippling taxes, as seen in the recent central budget.

In the alternative, he was prepared to give suggestions which if implemented would help the Government to tackle emergency without resorting to such heavy taxation, he declared.

Addressing a public meeting held in Georgetown to protest against the new taxes, Rajaji held that the Central budget seemed to pose a greater danger to the country than the Chinese menace.

The burdensome taxes would be like ripe bananas to the Chinese. The effect of the taxation would be to lower the morale of the people and dampen their enthusiasm when an enemy was knocking at our doors. In this way it would help the Chinese indirectly.

ASOKA HAILS DEFENCE WORK OF CHAVAN

BANGALORE.

The defence preparedness of the country had been improved considerably since the new Defence Minister, Mr. Y. B. Chavan, took charge, said Mr. Asoka Mehta, chairman of the Praja Socialist Party, here today.

He told the "Express News Service" that every effort had been made to improve the defence equipment position with the materials available in the country and supplied by the friendly nations.

"There is yet to be done more in the matter and it all depends upon the extent of assistance we are able to get from the friendly countries," he stated.

DEFENCE MATTERS

Mr. Mehta said that he, being a member of the National Defence Council, could not give details about the defence matters but could say that things were improving since the appointment of Mr. Chavan.

KASHMIR SETTLEMENT VITAL FOR PEACE

NEW DELHI.

Fifteen prominent Indian publicmen, representing vari-

ous schools of thought, said in a joint statement, that the future progress—material and moral—of both India and Pakistan and of the hundreds of millions living in the sub-continent, depended on the successful outcome of ministerial level talks between the representatives of both the countries.

Among the signatories are: Dr. C. D. Deshmukh, Vice-Chancellor of the Delhi University; Mr. Jaya Prakash Narayan, Sarvodaya leader; Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, M.P.; Mr. Frank Anthony, M.P. and Gurmukh Nihal Singh, former Governor of Rajasthan.

They said: "While friendly relations between India and Pakistan are desirable under all circumstances, China's aggression against India has underlined its imperative necessity beyond all doubt."

It was not the signatories' desire, the statement said, to complicate the course of the talks between the two Governments by making any specific proposals of their own. "No solution of such a complex and long standing problem can be free from defects and imperfections; but any solution which is generally acceptable must be welcomed in the larger interests of the peace, prosperity and security of the people of the entire sub-continent," the statement added.

Dear Editor....

PROHIBITION

The pros and cons of the prohibition policy of the Congress rulers are being regularly discussed in the columns of the dailies and magazines published in our country and majority of them are in favour of scrapping prohibition *in toto*. Yet a group of Fridays in the Congress Party exhibit their footmen show by adhering ardently to the views of their masters, though they are fully aware that the toppers in our country do not depend upon the tappers for their evening glasses. In fact prohibition is petering out in the immediate proximity of those who introduced it and enforced it and still they are not heeding to the advice of others for scrapping prohibition. In this context the celebrated Andhra poet VEMANNA is worth quoting to elucidate the obstinacy of the Congress rulers. The poet says that a man who is ignorant of worldly affairs can be enlightened within a year by regular instructions and a man who turns a deaf ear to others and keeps mute to problems can be made to listen to others and speak out his heart within a month by coaxing, but a man who pretends to hear others and remains adamant in his views cannot be rectified even if we break our heads with him for thirty long years. Our Congress rulers too have been looking at this question through coloured spectacles for the past sixteen years and promise to do the same for many more years to come.

Madras,

P. KUPPU RAO.

NEHRU'S TRAGEDY

On Planning, corruption and inefficiency of the administration, Nehru is like a man who when told he is drunk, drinks more to prove that he can stand it. His greatest tragedy is that he believes in his infallibility and no one tells him the truth, not even the Daily press.

—Insight.

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IN THIS ISSUE

Page

EDITORIAL :

Who is Complacent Please,
People or The Government? 2

Herd Instinct And Nation-Building
By M. A. Venkata Rao ... 5

Ghosts of History
By M. N. Tholal ... 7

ECONOMIC SUPPLEMENT 1-IV

After Nehru Who?
By A. G. Noorani 10

DELHI LETTER :
Malaviya And Mineral Ores 11

Book Review 12

Gleanings from the Press 13

News & Views 13

Dear Editor 15

PRICE
25
NAYA PAISA

Who Is Complacent, Please : People Or The Government ?

THE President Dr. Radhakrishnan, while addressing the members of the Madras Legislature is reported to have expressed his alarm at 'the sense of complacency' in the country and asked the people 'to overcome this crisis of complacency.' He also said that the primary need of the country was to build the nation's armed strength adequately to resist any external attack, to protect its self-respect and to develop self-confidence.

It is rather curious that the President who, of all the persons constituting the present Government, has been most consistently calling upon the country to do everything possible to retrieve the country's lost honour and prestige in the NEFA battles in last October, should have addressed his words of warning to the country, instead of to his self-hypnotized Ministers who are ruling the country under his benign care and guidance. Perhaps by the word 'country', he meant both the people and the Government. But if he really thought that the people were complacent while the Government was up and doing its duty, then he was doing less than injustice to the people who, in the emergency of October-December, 1962, had so magnificently responded to the call of the nation in all possible ways, men and money and even with their very blood and tears, against the detestable communist invader from the north.

The whole nation then rose to a man in the cause of its liberty and freedom. In that situation, the people only demanded of the Government a straight, honest and resolute policy and a clear-cut programme to fight the communist menace on all fronts, from within the country and without. They wanted a complete overhauling of the Defence Ministry and with one voice except for that of the 'Moscow' and 'Peking' patriots in India, begged of Mr. Nehru to dislodge the crypto-communist Krishna Menon from the Defence Ministry. With the dark shadow of communist invasion hanging over India in the North-East and Ladakh areas and the military disasters befalling in quick succession the Indian military, brave but helpless on account of being poorly equipped with arms and weapons, Mr. Nehru most reluctantly bowed to the wishes of the people and sacked Mr. Krishna Menon and brought in his place Mr. Chavan the sturdy, strong and silent man from Maharashtra. The people were happy about this new arrangement and were looking forward to a vigorous prosecution of the war imposed on us by the enemy. But the wily and shrewd Chinese leaders, for military reasons and presumably out of the political motives to create a split among the Indian nationals and also out of fear of the massive military aid spontaneously pour-

ing into India from the Western democracies which would have ultimately endangered the very existence of the 'red' regime in China, declared unilateral cease-fire and staged a dramatic withdrawal from certain areas they had taken by force.

Congress Boastfulness And Self-complacency

This tactical move of the Chinese had its desired effect on our rulers who were almost sighing for a breathing space. They grew self-complacent and boastful. Mr. Nehru started saying that his 'non-alignment' policy and 'Panchashila' had brilliantly succeeded as never before. Some of the Congress leaders even went to the length of saying that Russia had played a major part in bringing about the Chinese withdrawal. The prompt military aid from the West was given only a halting recognition, while some crypto-communist Congressmen openly tried to play it down. The Government however, cunningly and quickly enough, assumed emergency powers in the name of the Chinese invasion and began exercising them for its party ends and for boosting its discredited policies. The Government spokesmen warned the people and the press against criticism of Mr. Nehru and his policies as if they were sacrosanct and infallible.

With the imminent danger of the Chinese invasion having thus passed over, our leadership systematically tried to calm down the ever-rising temper of the people against communist China and communists at home. They told the people that communism had nothing to do with the Chinese invasion which was in their eyes, the result of Chinese expansionism. Congress agencies regaled the country with tiresome history of Chinese imperialism over the centuries even before the present red regime came to power there. This was in a way absolving Chinese communism from all blame in the matter of Chinese invasion. So the intense hatred for the Chinese reds in the country cooled down, at least among Congressmen. Colombo Proposals having been accepted by the Parliament in toto and Mr. Nehru's proposals to refer this 'border dispute' to arbitration or to the Hague Court having been unanimously endorsed now by the A.I.C.C. meeting, the President should have no reason to grumble if people were naturally inclined today to relapse into a mood of ease and relaxation.

Nehru's Way Of Wrecking National Unity

Moreover the Congress leaders including Mr. Nehru are doing everything possible to dampen the

anti-Chinese ardour of the people generated during the dark days of October last and to wreck the national unity that was so much in evidence at that time. Day in and day out, they are condemning outright all opposition parties and their leaders who do not see eye to eye with Mr. Nehru's 'non-alignment' and 'socialist' policies, as 'reactionaries' as Mr. Nehru did at the recent A.I.C.C. meeting. At the same time, Mr. Nehru makes it a point to refrain studiously and conveniently from making any reference to the nefarious activities of the Communists who are out to destroy unity even among Congress ranks and sabotage defence efforts by creating class conflicts in the name of anti-capitalism and working class welfare. Not only that. He very often alludes in his speeches to 'patriotic' elements in the communist party, simply because they are applauding him exclusively, though not his senior cabinet colleagues. But strangely enough he refuses to recognise the genuine anti-Chinese Indian patriotism of C. R. and other Swatantrites and also Jansanghis for no other reason than that they have the moral courage to point out the disastrous effects of his pet illusions and dreams on the country and to suggest the formation of an All Parties National Government at the Centre to foster and strengthen national unity and to meet the Chinese challenge more unitedly effectively and resolutely.

The Vicious System In Defence Ministry

The Prime Minister's ways are inscrutable. He has introduced a vicious system of checks and balances in the Defence Department of his Government especially after the ignominious exit of his friend Mr. Menon from the Ministry. In the result, Mr. Chavan, the new Defence Minister, who sacrificed his enviable prize-post of the Chief Minister of the Bombay State at Mr. Nehru's call, now finds himself in a quandary. His work in the Defence Ministry is being thwarted and circumscribed at every step by the constant interference of the Defence Co-ordinating Minister the redoubtable Krishnamachari and by the antics of Mr. Nehru's show-boy, the first class exhibitionist Chief Minister of Orissa, Mr. Patnaik, who has been specially drafted to Delhi as a 'special' adviser to the Prime Minister on defence matters. The people thus are sorely disappointed to see this cliquish struggle for power going on in the Defence Ministry with the full knowledge of the Prime Minister himself, even at this time of emergency. This bungling and mismanagement of the Defence Portfolio does not reflect favourably on the Government's seriousness about putting India's defence on sound lines.

People must therefore be excused if they are led to suspect that there is something more than what appears on the surface in Nehru's constant reiteration of 'non-alignment' and 'socialism' and that the country is being slowly prepared for bilateral talks between India and China in the near future on the basis of the Colombo proposals considerably diluted and made innocuous to the Chinese. Lord Mountbatten is already on his way to India to offer his services to Mr. Nehru in this matter. People therefore conclude that all this talk of emergency, not backed

up by vigorous action to repel the enemy is designed only to centralise all the political and economic power into the hands of the Government and stifle all opposition to governmental policies when Mr. Nehru finally decides to have peace negotiations with the Chinese.

Set The Government House In Order

The President of India should therefore set his own government house in order and take all necessary steps to put more vim and vigour into Cabinet Ministers and create in them an indomitable will to resist and fight the Chinese invader till he is beaten back beyond the last inch of Indian territory. He should persuade them to arrive at some definite military arrangement with U.S.A. and to adjust their foreign and domestic policies to the needs of the present emergency. He will have also to warn his Ministers including Mr. Nehru against their intolerable self-complacency and boastful spirit in beating their own drums about 'non-alignment' and 'socialism'. The President may rest assured that the heart of the people is quite sound and strong and they will support him in all his endeavours to galvanise his own government into taking effective military action against the hated red enemy from China.

Will the President wake up to the ugly realities of the situation and find out for himself: Who is complacent, People or the Government?

* * *

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THE RIVER-WATERS DISPUTE

The Gulhati Commission's Report on the Krishna-Godavari waters dispute is a sad commentary on the inherent defects of our National Planning. The Report has pointed out a woeful lack of basic data about the river-water discharge and its total availability, actual and potential, for being allocated rationally and scientifically for irrigating the dry agricultural areas of the river basins and for producing cheap power required by small industries in adjoining backward areas. In the absence of such definite information, it is no wonder that each one of the three States, Maharashtra, Mysore and Andhra through whose regions these rivers mainly flow, is trying its best to appropriate the maximum available flow for its own projects without giving any thought to the probable effects of such utilisation of water on the needs of other projects planned by other States along the same river systems. It is, however, comforting to note that the report holds out the promise that 'it would be possible in due course to meet reasonable requirements of most of the areas proposed to be irrigated by all the projects that have been put forward'. In the light of this possibility, the present furore raised by all the States over this dispute appears to be motivated more by vested political interests than by a keen desire for a fair and equitable distribution of the river-waters among the States concerned.

On the basis of the recommendations of this Commission's Report the Central Government have announced eminently reasonable proposals to settle this long drawn-out dispute. They have given a clearance for almost all the projects presently under construction, while curbing the overambitiousness of the States in regard to certain of their huge undertakings, which also will be favourably considered in course of time when the scientific data proposed to be collected soon, are available.

The proposals rightly give priority to the utilisation of the river waters for irrigation purposes. In this connection the Maharashtra Government's contention that under the Koyna scheme the proposed diversion of Krishna waters westwards will not only encourage small industries in Konkan but also will irrigate fifty thousand acres of land in this long neglected area will have to be given its due weight and favourably considered by the Government.

This dispute has once again highlighted the problem of formulating an intra-regional integrated Plan for optimum utilisation of such 'scarce and expensive natural resource'. The Central Government's reported move to establish an Inter-State River Board to collect the necessary data for building up Master Plans for all river basins in India is, therefore, quite opportune and appropriate.

ZIG-ZAGS IN INTERNATIONAL ALIGNMENTS

The politics of all major countries of both the 'free' world and the communist world seem to be in a state of constant flux. 'Peace', 'co-existence', 'dis-

armament' and such other words which have now acquired an incredible flexibility of meaning are now on the lips of all the world leaders. The much dreaded hydrogen bomb perhaps has had, at least for the time being, a soothing effect on the over-wrought nerves of world politicians like Kennedy and Khrushchev. These 'Big Two' leaders are no longer looking at each other with raised eye-brows, blood-shot eyes, clenched fists and also sometimes raised boots and shoes. They are now engrossed in their friendly talks on problems of Disarmament, On-sight Inspection, the Berlin question. The 'younger' Brothers Mao tse-Tang of China and Macmillan of Britain also refuse to be outdone by their Big Brothers in this game. They are reported to be at this moment discussing 'Airliners Deal' and mutual trade in other commodities between Britain and China. Mao feels slighted at Mr. Khrushchev's carrying on talks with Kennedy directly without consulting him. Mr. Macmillan, worsted and humiliated in the European Community and somewhat let down by Kennedy in the 'skybolt' affair at Nassau is turning eastwards, where once Britain held an empire on which 'the Sun never set'. Both these 'younger' brothers are therefore coming closer out of a common sense of frustration and despair.

So every big and small country belonging to both the camps is re-orienting its policy to the pressing needs of the Atomic Age. India alone stands still and unmoved like the Yogi, firmly holding on to 'Panchashila' and 'Non-alignment' and now to 'Socialism'. All the greater glory therefore to our leadership!

D. M. KULKARNI.

FOOD FOR THOUGHT

'God grants liberty only to those who love it and are always ready to guard and defend it.'

—D. Webster.

'The age of chivalry is gone. That of sophisters, economists and calculators has succeeded.'

—Edmund Burke.

'Government is the fundamental 'ism' of the soldier, the bigot and the priest'.

—Wendel Phillips.

'The idea of Anarchism is the synthesis of Liberalism and Socialism, liberation of economics from the fetters of politics, liberation of culture from all political power, liberation of man by the solidarie union with his kind.'

—Rudolf Rocker.

'The function of the Government is that of seeing to it that the individual is free to make choices rather than that of forcing him to accept the state choices.'

—Prof. Howard Ellis.

HERD INSTINCT AND NATION BUILDING

M. A. VENKATA RAO

Today we have the Communist empire facing the Free World. The latter will have to show, for its very survival, greater sense of cohesion, common destiny and love of freedom and capacity for common action against the common enemy. The instincts of the herd must be sublimated into the higher sentiments of nationalism. The supreme sovereignty of the Nation may pass, but its existence as a self-regulating unit of society and cultural autonomy will remain within the International Commonwealth.

EVER since the first world war of 1914-18, the influence of the herd instinct even in human affairs came to the fore in the public mind of Eur-America. Trotter's book **The Instincts of the Herd in Peace and War** won much attention. Earlier works of psychologists like **The Crowd** by Gustave Le Bon of France received renewed attention. The writings of Darwinists on the survival value of group behaviour with its aspects of leaders and led, domination and subordination, and the changes that the individual undergoes when under the influence of a crowd were stressed to account for the extraordinary behaviour of European crowds during the war and the post-war period.

The Nazi movement of Hitler and the Fascism of Mussolini with their systematic and deliberate use or misuse of modern devices to influence the masses and to stir up primitive or at any rate greatly simplified feelings and ideas introduced a new era in social life in the modern world.

The Russian revolution and its leaders initiated the systematic use and misuse of the new Pavlovian psychology of the conditioned reflex and of the Freudian psychology of neurosis, wish-fulfilment and the psychiatry of hypnotism to influence group behaviour in favour of official policy.

The Chinese communists seem to have carried this ruthless and callously mechanistic treatment of citizen under their control to far greater lengths than any other communist leadership. We in India are now face to face with the Chinese methods of "brain-washing," which, it is feared, they are applying to our soldiers captured by them in the recent Himalayan fighting in October-November 1962. They have refused to permit international Red Cross officials to visit their prisoner-of-war camps to see for themselves as impartial observers the treatment they are giving to prisoners in their charge.

The world had a glimpse of the thoroughness with which the Chinese carry out their brain-washing techniques in the Korean war of 1950-53. Many hundreds of American G.I's who returned from the Chinese camps were found to have been changed beyond recognition. Their attachment to homeland and Western values of humanism and democracy had vanished and they displayed a sense of the rightness of com-

munist revolution in attempting to destroy the present order of things in order to create a new heaven and a new earth. They had lost their old minds and selves and memories and had acquired new minds and selves with a different orientation altogether, without any rational basis for the change whatever! It was an emotional transformation. It was carried out more through prestige suggestion in artificially created crises of fear, hunger and tension.

Indian military and defence authorities are now confronted with the necessity of **indoctrinating** our soldiers in such a way with our own values that they will offer stout resistance to the Chinese subversive techniques of brainwashing if they should unfortunately fall into their hands in the course of the fighting in the next phase.

In this situation, the character of the herd instinct and group behaviour needs to be studied by national leaders, official and unofficial and publicists of all kinds.

First of all, it is well to realise that nationalism or social cohesion is a **condition of social survival**. The process of evolution shows that nature cares little for the individual organism but infinitely **more for the species**. As we cast our eyes on the ladder of evolution and watch its ascending series of species, higher in heterogeneity and complexity and powers of adaptation to the environment, we see that cohesive herds who act like one individual in defence and attack like wolves, have a greater chance of survival than lone individuals like the rhinoceros that tends to disappear rapidly when conditions change. Even at the human level, primitive societies that display great cohesive powers and social discipline, (the bulk of the members following the leaders without question in times of crises), have greater chances of success.

The Greek city states survived the Persian invasions only because they could for the time forget their bitter inter-city rivalries and hatreds and unite to resist the enslaving oppressor. Later, when the threat of invasion ceased, they fell apart, fought against each other in federations, one under the lead of Athens and the other under that of Sparta and perished in common before the Macedonian conqueror, Philip.

The Romans conquered the Italian principalities and the Mediterranean world in a few gene-

rations and built a world empire and ruled it for a thousand years, only because they could maintain their unity and organised forms of mobilisation, leadership, action and war better than their opponents.

Today we have the communist empire facing the free world with similar problems. If the free world cannot show greater cohesion, sense of common destiny and love of freedom and capacity to merge differences for the time being in favour of common action as against the common enemy, the countries yet enjoying the inestimable blessings of freedom will perish and will be absorbed as subordinate elements in the communist world empire.

The instincts of the herd should survive at a higher level of social consciousness and transcend both intra-national and extra-national rivalries, as for example in Southeast Asia if the communist Chinese empire is to be halted in its ambition.

Nature does not set any value on individual merit possessed by members of disunited societies. Nehru may be a great cosmopolitan mind, fit leader for a united world in the next phase! But **today** his mission is to unite the country in his charge **like one herd** animated by the sense of a common danger **against the enemy** who is poised for attack on the Himalayan frontiers. His task is to rally all our **neighbours**, (who are equally threatened to stand with us) **like one nation** determined to resist the would-be conqueror.

It is wrong and misleading therefore to anticipate history and hold that nationalism is outdated and evil, out of a false identification of it with Hitlerism and Mussolini-ism. Nazism and Fascism were **aberrations of nationalism**. They mixed the defence feelings natural to the herd instinct with aggressive over-compensatory mechanisms of empire and oppressions of others. The right use of nationalism is to work for a federation of free and equal nations regulating their inter-relations by negotiations and their differences by arbitration through agreed machinery like the World Court and to agree on backing its awards with a World Police. This is the right line of advance and not that of communism which is **mechanistic** and **monolithic** vision, magnifying one nation into a **super-nation**, to which all the rest should owe allegiance.

Nationalism in the sense of social unity and social responsibility for a particular piece of territory and people inhabiting it at any particular time is **necessary** and **indispensable**. It is also ethical, being the stage in moral development next higher to that of the tribe. It signifies the unity of different tribes, ethnic stocks, castes, sects, religious fellowships, economic classes, regional groups and affinities of all sorts among

people living in the same region unified by social communication and a common government.

The sentiment of nationality frees the individuals of a society from excessive and exclusive ties to narrower social bonds such as those of sect, caste, colour, occupation, social rank and every other circumstance usually connoting exclusion and social distance and freezing of social relations.

If India were a nation in the full sense, every Indian would find himself at home in every part of the vast country from Kashmir to the Comorin, from Dwarka to NEFA and Nagaland. He would be free to enter into human relations with anyone in this wide area in all realms of life—cultural, economic, political, religious, etc. He would be free to marry from any group and to trade with any one. He would be free to settle anywhere and to take a career for himself through an avenue of service anywhere. The powers of the individual would be set free on emulative basis on fair terms under a system of equal laws. The regime of equal laws and the rule of law and equal opportunity would liberate the maximum of human energies in the society at large. There would be a climate of challenge and achievement everywhere. Such a society would be supported by the sentiment of nationalism operating in the minds of all citizens, administrators, educators, employers, employees—as a psychological **disposition**, mostly subconscious but coming to the level of explicit consciousness when obstacles to the smooth functioning of social life present themselves, within or without the nation.

It is possible and necessary to sublimate the nation as a social personality as an honourable member of the international comity of nations, co-operative with other nations and hostile to none. For this, the idea of empire should be destroyed and that of commonwealth substituted in its place. The biological **herd** passes at this higher stage into a **national personality** which can take pride in contributing to human good in the largest sense in all spheres of life. Research should be undertaken to study the economic and other obstacles that today come in the way of international co-operation. The supreme sovereignty of the nation may pass but its existence as a self-regulating unit of society and cultural autonomy will remain within the international commonwealth, even as individual personality, club, cultural association etc. will remain in national society.

It has been necessary to reiterate the value and necessity of nationalism within limits because of the view of some influential intellectuals that nationalism is outmoded and that humanism too cannot do without subordinate groupings. Human nature develops in successive constellation, super-posing new patterns on earlier patterns and not effacing them.

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GHOSTS OF HISTORY

By M. N. THOLAL

The author opines that except for C. Rajagopalchari and his Swatantra Party, there seems to be little awareness of the present crisis in the country, much less any attempt at meeting the same with the forethought that it demands. He narrates how in past also the Congress lost golden opportunities of meeting the Hindu-Muslim crisis for want of statesmanship of the highest order among the Congress leaders.

In moments of crisis we are unable to rise to the occasion. The present crisis, for example, demands statesmanship of the highest order but, except for Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar and his Swatantra Party, there seems to be little awareness of the crisis, much less of any attempt at meeting the same with the foresight that it demands. The history of the country of the past forty years is full of examples of how we missed the bus time after time, and will bear perusal today.

To combat the stubbornness of the British Government in resisting proposals of constitutional advance, the Gauhati Congress (1926) decided to create a united front. Some prominent Muslim leaders, headed by Jinnah, met in Delhi and put forward what came to be known as the Muslim proposals. They were agreeable to joint electorates for the provincial and central legislatures, provided: (a) Sind was made into a separate province, (b) the North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan were treated on the same footing as the other provinces, (c) in the Punjab and Bengal the proportion of Muslim representation was in accordance with their population, and (d) in the central legislature it was not less than one-third of the total.

At the All-India Congress Committee meeting held in October, 1927, a resolution was passed substantially accepting the Muslim proposals. A resolution on the question of framing a constitution for India in consultation with the leaders of all parties was also adopted. The Madras Congress (1927) accepted the Muslim scheme submitted by Jinnah and laid down certain rules dealing with the religious and social aspects of the problem. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Maulana Mohammad Ali were overjoyed. The former made a touching appeal for unity and the latter exclaimed that the Muslims no longer wanted protection of minorities from Earl Winterton, for it could be better secured by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya.

As a result of the Congress acceptance of the Muslim proposals, the Muslim League split into two this year. One part under Sir Mohammad Shafi met at Lahore and welcomed the Simon Commission. The official League, which followed Jinnah, met in Calcutta and adopted a resolution boycotting the Commission. It also decided to appoint a committee to take up with the Congress and other political organisations the work of drafting the constitution and of suggesting the necessary safeguards.

The country was overjoyed to find unity at last between the two main communities inhabiting the land. The efforts of Srinivas Iyengar had borne fruit. Nothing more could have been expected. The Madras Congress resolution had the blessings of Madan Mohan Malaviya, the great Hindu leader, on the one

hand, and of Maulana Mohammad Ali and Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the two great leaders of Muslims. And yet the resolution, which sent a thrill of joy throughout the country, was treated as if it had not been passed at all by the Congress. Motilal Nehru was not present at the Madras Congress, being away in England. Gandhi attended the open sessions of the Madras Congress, but did not attend the meetings of the Working Committee. He took no part in the shaping of the Congress policy that year. The resolution on independence as well as that on the boycott of British goods was not to his liking. As if that was not enough, there was no love lost between Motilal Nehru and Srinivas Iyengar, who stood for independence with Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhas Chandra Bose. I once heard Motilal Nehru say that, if we were to plump for independence, Srinivas Iyengar would begin supporting dominion status.

So with both Gandhi and Motilal Nehru prejudiced against the harbinger of Hindu-Muslim unity, the chances of the terms on which it was brought about being acceptable to the Congress for long were indeed small. Mr. N. C. Kelkar had a little earlier described in choice language the infatuation, as he called it, of Pandit Motilal Nehru for power and position, authority and wealth. Who does not like them? The British Chief Justice of U.P. was nearer the mark when he said, "The place Motilal Nehru occupies automatically becomes the head of the table." In his duel with the Responsivists, headed by Kelkar, the Pandit was right, though he could not publicly drive home the main reason for the correctness of his attitude against them, which was lack of rectitude in men who were to become ministers in pursuit of responsive co-operation.

It is interesting to turn to the pages of the *History of the Congress* by that devotee of the Mahatma, B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, for an inkling of the mind of the Mahatma on Srinivas Iyengar and his ambition. Says he: "Altogether 25 riots had broken out. . . . In less than 18 months, the toll taken was stated by Lord Irwin in his Address to the Indian Legislature on August 29, 1927, to be between 250 killed and over 2,500 injured. The Viceroy's exhortation to unity was followed by a unity conference which, however, did not achieve much. A similar Unity Conference was organised by the AICC on October 27, 1927, and it was opened by Srinivas Iyengar (the Congress President of the year) whose one ambition in life, as he repeatedly said,—an ambition which rested in a fund of self-confidence,—was to evolve a formula for Hindu-Muslim unity. . . . The A.I.C.C. met immediately after the Unity Conference, i.e., on October 28, 29 and 30, 1927, in Calcutta. The resolutions of the Unity Conference on the communal relations were passed bodily."

This Congress historian gives the text of the resolution on music before mosques and cow slaughter, but says nothing about the resolution passed substantially accepting the Muslim proposals, as if that was of no significance! This fling on Srinivas Iyengar's ambition might have been justified if he had failed, but here is this Congress historian having his little fling on that great man because of his most legitimate ambition "which rested in a fund of self-confidence". What business had anyone in the Gandhian Congress to have any patriotic ambition, much less one based on self-confidence, so out of place in the Gandhian era? For was not Gandhi there, an expert in everything that mattered, including sandal-making, which he taught to his disciples in Segaon? Gandhi and his followers might as well have told Srinivas Iyengar: "We like your cheek. Let us see how far you go with your plans of Hindu-Muslim unity." That is the only inference to draw from Gandhi's silence on the most important achievement of patriotic Indians since 1916 when there was a Hindu-Muslim or rather Congress-League Agreement at Lucknow. Was it because Gandhi differed from Jinnah's dictum that "Hindu-Muslim unity is Swaraj" and insisted on obtaining "Swaraj through the spinning wheel"?

At the AICC meeting in October, 1927, a resolution had been adopted on the question of framing a constitution for India in consultation with leaders of all political parties. Thus the All-Parties Conference which met in Bombay on May 19, 1928, formed a committee with Motilal Nehru as chairman. This Committee in its report proposed dominion status as the basis of the Indian constitution, for effecting maximum agreement among all parties. It recommended joint electorates with reservation of seats for Muslims where they were in minority in proportion to the size of the community. (August, 1928.)

When the AICC met on December 26, 1928, in Calcutta the Ali Brothers strongly opposed the Nehru Report. The same day the Muslim League in Calcutta adjourned without coming to any important decision on the Nehru Report. Jinnah wanted a few amendments to the Report adopted but he was discouraged by the Congress leaders who were present there, including Maulana Azad and Dr. Kitchlew. The year's President of the League, the Raja of Mahmudabad, was also an ardent advocate of the Nehru Report. Later an All-Parties Muslim Conference, under the chairmanship of the Aga Khan, repudiated the Nehru Report, saying they wanted a federal constitution and separate electorates. Maulana Mohammad Ali, who attended the Conference, strongly condemned the Nehru Report. Thus the Nehru Report proved to be an apple of discord because of the attitude, not of Jinnah, but of the Ali Brothers. The Congress, in thus indirectly setting aside the Madras unity resolution, failed to act on the maxim that a bird in hand is worth a hundred in the bush.

THE 1936 RAPPROACHMENT

Eight years roll by. On the eve of the 1937 general elections progressive leaders of the U.P. Congress and the U.P. League, who had been Motilal Nehru's lieutenants, agreed among themselves to oust the ruling party of zamindars and replace them in the provincial legislature by forming a coalition govern-

ment after the elections. It was hoped that the Congress and the League together would be able to win a majority of seats. But the elections gave a thumping majority to the Congress and the Gentlemen's Agreement was forgotten. Even the League manifesto had been drafted in consultation with Congress leaders. The social policy it advocated was much the same as Congress policy. The League was to play its part in building a new "social edifice", though it would oppose "any movement that aims at expropriation of private property." Industrial development, uplift of the rural population, the relief of agricultural indebtedness—all this was common ground. The federal scheme was condemned; the provincial scheme was severely criticised, but it was to be worked "for what it was worth". The manifesto even preferred to omit the two word "separate electorates". The Lucknow Pact of 1916 was hailed as "one of the greatest beacon lights in the constitutional history of India" and as "a signal proof of the identity of purpose between the two great sections of the people of India." From that time onwards, Muslims had "stood shoulder to shoulder with sister communities in the cause of Indian freedom. If they demanded that their minority position should be safeguarded in the structure of the constitution, that was not communalism. Any one conversant with world history would realise that this was a natural claim and that its acceptance was essential in order to obtain the whole-hearted and willing co-operation of the minorities *who must be made to feel that they can rely upon the majority with a complete sense of confidence and security.*" (Emphasis mine.)

But their thumping success at the polls turned the heads of Congressmen and they decided to ignore the gentlemen's agreement arrived at on the eve of the elections. The AICC meeting held at Delhi in the third week of March, 1937, adopted Gandhi's compromise formula authorizing the acceptance of offices, under certain conditions, in provinces where the Congress commanded a majority. On March 19 the Convention of Congress members of provincial legislatures met at Delhi "to pledge to work under the discipline of the Congress".

Maulana Azad in his *India wins Freedom* blames Jawaharlal Nehru for the imbroglio which resulted in the League remaining outside the U.P. Government. "Chaudhari Khaliquzzaman and Nawab Mohammad Ismail were then the leaders of the Muslim League in U.P.," he writes, "They assured me that not only would they co-operate with the Congress but would fully support the Congress programme. They naturally expected that the Muslim League would have some share in the new Government. The local position was such that neither of them could enter the Government alone. Either both would have to be taken or neither. I had therefore held out hopes that both would be taken into the Government." He left for Patna and when he returned he found to his regret that Nehru had written to Khaliquzzaman and Nawab Ismail Khan that only one of them could be taken into the Ministry. They therefore expressed their regret saying they were unable to accept the offer.

(Contd. on Page 9)

ECONOMIC SUPPLEMENT

Planning and Employment In India

by Prof. G. N. LAWANDE, M.A.,

Our Five-Year Plans are based on certain objectives and one of them is to achieve maximum utilization of man power in order to achieve full employment but one must say with regret that employment is not the main objective with our planners with the result that little attention has been paid to the need for maximising employment which has been regarded as the by-product of economic development. This view can be seen from the following excerpts. At the time of Second Five-Year Plan it was stated by the Planning authorities that "the problem of unemployment especially in an under-developed country like ours can only be solved after a period of intensive development..... In determining the programme for the next five years the prime consideration is that at least the deterioration in the unemployment situation should be arrested". The same view persisted during the Third Five-Year Plan, "Full utilisation of man power resources can be achieved after a considerable period of development". From these it is quite clear that the Planners have given a secondary importance to the employment aspect with the result that the backlog of unemployment is increasing from plan to plan. Now the question is whether it is possible and advisable to plan to achieve full employment in the short period, and whether our planners bent upon establishing socialist pattern of society can achieve the same. It is now recognised that the two objectives of achieving maximum rate of economic growth and the attainment of full employment do not go together in the short period of time though they are compatible in the long run. In the words of Shri V. V. Giri "the primary object of democratic planning in India should be to absorb the surplus work force by so drafting the programme of development as to yield full employment". The Directives in the Constitution envisage full employment and the right to work and live, but employment is full when everybody who wants to work can find it at established rates of pay. According to W. Beveridge "Full employment exists only when there are always more vacant jobs than unemployed men. It means that the jobs are at fair wages, of such a kind, and so located that the unemployed men can reasonably be expected to take them; it means, by consequence that the moral lag between losing one job and finding another will be very short". It must be remembered here that in normal times 100% of the working population in employment can never exist; a minimum of unemployment is bound to

exist but in our country unemployment-problem has become a very serious problem next to exchange crisis; it was argued that free capitalist countries failed to achieve full employment and only socialist economy can do the trick but our socialist planners have aggravated the problem by adopting unrealistic fiscal policy. By imposing direct as well as indirect taxes in the name of emergency and development incentives to save and invest have been greatly reduced. Employment cannot be increased without investment. Investment is based on the expectation of profit which is a sine qua non of economic progress, but our Finance Minister has imposed super profit tax in the last budget so that the private sector will have no incentive to invest and as a consequence of this, employment will tend to fall. The backlog of unemployment at the end of Second Plan in 1961 is reckoned at 9 millions. The number of new entrants to the labour force during the Third Plan period (1961-66) will be as many as 17 millions. The Planners are expected to provide employment opportunities for about 14 million people. Thus the reserve army of man-power at the end of the Third Plan will be as high as 12 million persons. For this reason the planners should give priority to the eradication of unemployment once and for all during the Third Plan. The Mahalanabis Strategy in this respect has miserably failed, because it was based on the wrong assumption, namely, that by increasing purchasing power through investment in heavy industries in the public sector and through expenditure on health, education and social services and secondly meeting the increasing demand for consumer goods by a planned supply of such goods. The problem of unemployment can be solved. This strategy would have been successful if capital were available in adequate quantity to expand the consumer goods industries when the development and expansion of heavy and basic industries were given top priority in the Second Plan period. The Planning Commission gave more emphasis on cottage and household industries rather than on large scale consumer goods industries. The problem of unemployment could not be tackled satisfactorily by the Planning Commission due to the absence of the creation of adequate new employment opportunities in large scale industries producing consumer goods. The problem of unemployment would not have taken a serious turn during the Second Plan period if the planners have curtailed the volume of investment in heavy industries (Continued on Page IV)

Britain, The Giant Invalid

It is not altogether easy to detect and analyse the irrationalisms of one's own times, but three of them which certainly pervade the world of 1963 are:—

1. **Landlordism:** A belief that some are rightly entitled, to the exclusion of others, to receive the site-rent that arises from the activity, enterprise and progress of the whole community, and to appropriate that rent as their own earned income.

2. **Ticketology:** The belief that money is wealth and a great many other surprising things besides, instead of being merely a labour-saving device used for a medium of exchange and a measure of value. The printing of ingenious tickets is advocated by hosts of people as a cure for poverty and almost all other social ills.

3. **Self-impoverishment.** The custom of cutting off one's supplies and income for one's own protection and enrichment. It is commonly believed that imports from abroad cause unemployment and other mischiefs, and also that what we export is a gain but what we import is a loss. This gives rise to a socialistic regime, with the government assuming control of trade in order to discourage profitable trade with foreigners and encourage uneconomic production. The enormous loss caused by this form of irrationalism is beyond calculation, and its pernicious effects are more far-reaching than they at first sight appear to be.

QUICK DECLINE

The first two of these three irrationalisms require adequate treatment, but we must confine this examination to the third. The giant invalid is the great United Kingdom, only yesterday the world's leader in trade and many other fields, and now the victim of this irrational self-impoverishment. When in 1932 Britain returned to the closed port policy, miscalled "Protection," it was prophesied that within 20 years she would be a third-rate power. Few took the prophecy seriously, but it came true. Successive doses of protection, Empire trade "pacts," Keynesism, the Welfare State, and numerous other forms of socialism and semi-socialism, have brought Britain to her present condition, that of an invalid sending out urgent appeals for assistance and sympathy.

The British Isles are so geographically situated at a comparative disadvantage. British history proves this right up to the hilt. All countries depend on trade for their prosperity, i.e. to build up and maintain their standard of living, but Britain above all others. She is splendidly adapted to manufacturing the raw materials of the spacious and far-flung rest of the world, and for selling in the world markets in exchange for the wealth which they can abundantly produce. Her encouragement of foreign trade by the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1847, followed by the open port policy till 1932, caused Britain to be-

come the acknowledged leader of nations and London the commercial centre of the world. Conversely, the abandonment of that free market by her return to "protection" in 1932 produced an immediate and spectacular decline which only the blind could fail to see. The creation of protected and privileged classes and groups tends to grow until the process kills the nation. Every crisis caused by "protection" causes a louder cry for more protection. The whole United Kingdom is now so weakened that a sharp revolution is the only alternative to a complete decline.

THE COMMON MARKET

This crisis made the Common Market seem, to those who did not radically analyse, a heaven-sent opportunity to maintain the protection and the servile state and to gain relief. This happens to all protected communities (it happened in Australia). The world outstrips them, they decline, and they strive to join up with a more prosperous area, which they drag down into protection with them. With Britain and the Common Market the situation was confused, but it is clear that the Common Market is a strongly tariff-ridden area. To the dispirited British the surrender of more freedom seemed a small consideration for the promised increase in prosperity and business. The lion was prepared to run round its enlarged circus-ring under control, with the other tariff-enclosed countries in a fresh world poetically but falsely named the Common Market.

THE CURE

To cure the disease which will ultimately kill any civilisation, i.e. inequality and loss of freedom, a great and radical restoration of freedom is necessary. A mere reduction, or even abolition, of tariffs is not sufficient. The decline into "protection" is itself the consequence of a radical departure from freedom: the decline comes from within, and can be arrested and reversed from within. How seriously Britain has declined is evident from its unemployment problem alone. True freedom will abolish unemployment.

How pathetic when a great country forgets the message of its own greatest poet:—
England, bound with the triumphant sea,
Whose rocky shore beats back the envious siege
Of watery Neptune, is now bound in with shame,
With inky blots and rotten parchment bonds;
That England, that was wont to conquer others,
Hath made a shameful conquest of itself.

Social decline can be arrested, the ingredients of the remedy being (1) a moral reformation, and (2) a growth of knowledge of social science. This originates, not in governments but in individuals who acquire social knowledge, dedicate themselves to the task and act as the leaven of society.

—The Standard (Australia).

Small Business Can Be Keystone Of Developing Nations

By AUSTEN NAZARETH

ONE of the most important conferences ever sponsored by the United Nations—that is the rating that Secretary-General U Thant gave UNCAST—or, to use its full and graphic title, the United Nations Conference on the Application of Science and Technology for the Benefit of the Less-Developed Areas—which has just concluded a two-week session (February 4-20) at Geneva.

And no wonder. The subject is a vital one: vital to the emergent nations—"two-thirds of the world", as President John F. Kennedy reminded the U.S. delegation to the conference—and hardly, if at all, less vital to the remaining one-third. The almost 2,000 delegates who conferred in Geneva—presided over by India's Professor Maneklal S. Thacker—came from some 80 developed and developing countries around the globe and formed a unique international constellation of top-ranking scientists, technologists, engineers, economists, bankers, educators, and government officials.

The 1,800 papers read and discussed by these experts dovetailed into a fascinating panorama of possibilities, problems, and hopes for the developing countries of the world. They covered a dozen broad categories—such as human and natural resources, agriculture, communications, health and a whole host of specific questions: irrigation (how can the vital but often absent contact between the engineers who build the irrigation systems and the agronomists who decide how to use the water be maintained?), fisheries (are artificial reefs the answer to depleted fishing-grounds?), power (how long will the world's supply of fossil fuels last?), to cite a random few.

Some of the most interesting and significant papers in Geneva have been those read by the social scientists. The more voluntary, democratic participation a developing nation gets from its people in planning and executing economic growth plans, says U.S. sociologist Melvin Tumin, the quicker its climb to prosperity is likely to be. Tumin, who is associate professor of sociology and anthropology at Princeton University, emphasizes in his paper that only as genuine social, political and economic democracy is progressively achieved can any nation hope to establish firmly the social processes necessary to effective development.

What is the most reliable compass for charting such development? Profits, says a paper presented by Professor Edward S. Mason. The leading capitalist countries long ago abandoned

the idea of letting all economic decisions be determined by unregulated market forces alone, the Harvard economics professor points out. But the Communist countries have never succeeded in finding a substitute for profits as a guide to sound economic planning.

A formula for building profitable private businesses in the developing countries is given in another paper read in Geneva. Put the accent on small and medium-size enterprises, it says. This is the recommendation of Bert F. Hoselitz, professor of social sciences at the University of Chicago.

The Chicago professor was a member of a team of advisers to India in 1957-58 on the master plan for the national capital region. In 1952 he served on a U.N. technical-assistance mission to the Central American republic of El Salvador. Last year he attended conferences in Turkey, Nyasaland, and France.

Hoselitz suggests in his paper that the evolution of successful private business communities in the new nations will depend largely on the small and medium-sized funds that played an important part in the economic growth of the more highly developed nations.

Private (as opposed to public) industrialization, says the Chicago social scientist, "must be thought of in the next two or three decades not in terms of new Pittsburghs or Birminghams in the developing nations of Africa and Asia, but rather as a process in which small capital is allocated in various industrial and commercial fields. Although these units may increase in size, they will remain, from a world point of view, fairly small or, at best, medium-size in their fields of economic activity."

This is a carefully thoughtout theory solidly based on sound and successful practice. For while Professor Hoselitz's own country is widely recognized (accurately) as a land of prosperous big businesses, it is far less widely known as a land of equally prosperous small businesses. Yet it can even be said that, taken as a whole, small businesses are the "biggest business" in the U.S.A.

The key role the small businessman plays in the American economy can be better understood when it is realized that almost 95 per cent. of all U.S. businesses are small firms. There are more than 4½ million of these small businesses in operation in the United States, and it is conservatively estimated that at least half-a-million more small firms will have gone into business within the current decade alone.

Small businesses account for some 40 per cent. of the United States' total business activity. They employ (as owners, managers, or workers) about 30 million people—nearly half of all those at work in the nation. Taking for granted, as we reasonably may, an average of almost two other dependents for each, we find that small business provides a livelihood for at least 80 million of the 180 million people in the U.S.A.

The importance of small business in the United States is not only statistical. It is a fount of new ideas, new inventions, new processes. Many, if not most, of the important commercial inventions of the last 50 years have come from the workshops of independent inventors and small independent businessmen—to give a few notable examples, domestic gas refrigeration, automatic transmission, air-conditioning, Cellophane, Kodachrome.

Since the nation's early days, small business enterprises have formed the keystone of the vast edifice of social, political and economic democracy that is the United States. Thomas Jefferson and Benjamin Franklin often warned that economic power should be kept decentralized among many independent owners as a safeguard against concentration of power and consequent loss of individual liberty. Time has proved their wisdom.

Today, we see small business as the keystone of the free American nation. Tomorrow, it can be the keystone of the developed free nations of the world.

—U.S.I. Service.

(Continued from Page I)

and released capital was utilised for the expansion of employment in the large scale consumer goods industries. As a consequence of this policy the price level would have come down and the value of rupee would have gone up. During the Second Plan period the prices rose by 6 per cent per annum and this was mainly due to the large dose of deficit financing during the last two years of the Second Plan. In the Third Plan we find that the Planning Commission has not attempted to frame a co-ordinated policy for creating employment opportunities for 26 million persons. The Planning Commission has chalked out a programme for creating employment for 14 million persons, but whether even this can be achieved or not is problematical. The imposition of super profit tax will certainly kill the incentive of the private sector to invest and this will aggravate the problem of unemployment in the Third Plan and the Fourth plan will begin with a backlog of unemployment not less than 15 million persons. The major burden of reducing unemployment lies in raising the level of investment in the economy which is the key factor in increasing employment as well as to increase the tempo of economic development. To achieve this objective private sector should be given proper scope to play a vital role in the economic growth of our economy. The present policy based on ideological

grounds should be reversed and then alone the twin problems of unemployment and rapid economic growth can be solved. The private sector should not be treated with indifference. Economic growth should not be the monopoly of the public sector alone. Rural as well as urban unemployment can be successfully tackled if labour intensive or capital saving techniques are adopted. This may lead to a slow progress in our planning but that is inevitable. Planning aims at utilisation of available resources in the best possible manner to attain the higher standard of living. Economic growth of a country is as much dependent on the development of its people and the people who are denied employment are the people who are denied the chance of development. In a country like ours with large unemployed and underemployed man power planning for employment is preferable because employment will bring about an increase in output. Abundant labour supply should be regarded as an asset rather than a liability in the sense that it presents opportunities for augmenting production. Because of this factor, employment planning has a greater significance in a country like India. A suitable strategy for employment planning can be thought out only in regard to the future. In the Third Plan greater attention is paid to the growth than to the employment. Unemployment problem is bound to become serious and the Fourth and Fifth Five-Year Plans should give top priority to the employment problem. It is estimated that during the Fourth and Fifth Plan addition to the labour force would be about 23 and 30 million. This reinforces the case for an active population policy. In the Third plan the Government has also failed to frame a realistic population policy to control the rate of growth of population. The price policy has failed to keep the rising prices under control. In this respect one cannot expect that the Government should be able to create employment opportunities for 14 million persons. In this regard Japanese experience has a good bearing for India. In that country the absorption of man power in non-agricultural occupations has shown a very great rise in the inter-war period. This was mainly due to the labour intensiveness of Japanese small scale units. This policy can be followed in our country by giving small scale industries which are employment creating industries. They will not only create employment opportunities but will also increase the total supply of consumer goods which is scarce in relation to demand. In these industries the gestation period is shorter than in the large scale heavy industries which are capital intensive.

So the problem of unemployment can be eradicated in the next two Five-Year plans if top priority is given to employment aspect instead of growth aspect. Economic development and employment must go hand in hand and this can be achieved by adopting free market economy. Planned economy has failed to solve the problem. West Germany and Japan have shown the way.

Azad says he "found that Purshottamdas Tandon had taken a leading part in the whole affair and influenced Jawaharlal's judgment". The opinion in U.P. among those who knew Nehru was that it was Nehru's desire to have Rafi Ahmed Kidwai in the Cabinet that led him to write to the League leaders as he did. In fact what made matters worse was that Rafi Kidwai, who had lost in the general election, was later allowed by the Muslim League to be returned unopposed in a by-election, but when he became minister he started a campaign in his paper, *The National Herald*, to oust Khaliquzzaman from the chairmanship of the Lucknow Municipal Board and succeeded therein.

Azad could have prevented the breakdown of the talks and insisted on the inclusion of the two Leaguers in the Cabinet, if he was so sure of the results that would follow a rift between the Congress and the League. He could have threatened to resign and would then have carried the Mahatma with him. (Azad says in his book Gandhi had agreed with him "and said he would advise Jawaharlal to modify his stand. When Jawaharlal put the matter in a different light Gandhiji submitted to Jawaharlal and did not press the matter as he should have done.") But instead he sent the following terms to the Provincial League leader: "(1) The Muslim League group in the U.P. legislature shall cease to function as a separate group. (2) The existing members of the Muslim League Party in the U.P. Assembly shall become part of the Congress Party and the decisions of the Congress Party shall be binding upon them. (3) The policy laid down by the Congress Working Committee for their members in the legislatures along with the instructions issued by the competent Congress bodies pertaining to their work in such legislatures shall be faithfully carried out by all the members of the Congress Party, including these members. The Muslim League Parliamentary Board in the U.P. will be dissolved and no candidate will thereafter be set up by the said Board at any by-election. . . . All members of the Congress Party shall abide by the rules of the Congress Party and offer their full and genuine co-operation with a view to promoting the interest and prestige of the Congress. In the event of the Congress Party deciding on resignation from the ministry or from the Legislative Assembly, the members of the above-mentioned group will also be bound by that decision." *The Pioneer*, July 30, 1937.)

These are terms from victors to the vanquished, not to partners in a coalition which was envisaged on the eve of the elections, and they were communicated by Maulana Azad himself, the zonal member of the Congress Parliamentary Board. He cannot therefore escape all blame for what happened. In fact his portion of the blame is greater inasmuch as he says he foresaw what was likely to happen and did not try to prevent it with all the power at his command. What is the use of blaming those who thought they would get away with what U.P. Congressmen themselves said was "double-crossing, pure and simple"? When the Madras unity resolution was by-passed, in favour of the Nehru Report, much could be said in favour of the statesmanlike

document. But what excuse could there be for ignoring the gentlemen's agreement on the eve of the elections except, "After all, what can they do?" The Congress historian cites in defence "the absence of a definite promise or pact between the League and the Congress". The quoted words suggest he knew better.

If there was no definite promise or understanding, why, as Pattabhi Sitaramayya, himself admits in *History of the Congress* (Volume II), did the Congress choose "to work in concert with the League," and why did Khaliquzzaman, U. P. Chairman of the League Parliamentary Committee, as he admits again, work "in unison with the corresponding functionaries of the Congress in U. P. and with the Congress in the selection of candidates for the Provincial Legislative Elections in 1937"? Horace Alexander of the Friends Society, a friend of Mahatma Gandhi, in his "India Since Cripps" dealing with the affairs in U. P. rightly said, "Before the 1937 elections there had been something like an election pact between the Congress and the Muslim League. In the United Provinces, for instance, where Congress did not expect to get an absolute majority of seats, it was understood that they would act together and that, if a ministry was to be formed at all, it would be a coalition ministry."

The Muslim Leaguers were bitter. Jinnah told them again and again, "Have I not been telling you what sort of men you have to deal with?" In a speech at Lucknow in October, 1937, he went for the Congress and its leaders. Gandhi wrote to him: "I carefully went through your speech at Lucknow and I felt deeply hurt over your misunderstanding my attitude. . . . As I read it, the whole of your speech is a declaration of war." On December 28, addressing the Muslim Students Federation in Calcutta, Jinnah said, "The Congress High Command must be brought to their senses." On May 26, 1938, in discussions with Gandhi and Congress President Bose, Jinnah in one breath talked of his fourteen points and in another said, "We can go on multiplying the list"! So far as Hindu-Muslim unity was concerned, all was over.

"In these negotiations the Congress laboured under a distinct disadvantage," says Sitaramayya in his *History of the Congress*, "While the Muslim League spokesman was one single individual leader, and the same person always, the Congress had more than one leader—a non-official leader in Gandhi, an official leader in the Maulana, a de facto leader in Jawaharlal and a dynamic leader in the Sardar." Here he is quite right, except for attributing to the Sardar and Nehru the roles that belonged to the other. The de facto leader was the Sardar and it was Nehru who was the dynamic leader. Thus apart from the power struggle between the Congress and the League or Gandhi and Jinnah, there was plenty of power politics within the Congress in both of which the only casualties appeared to be moral sense and patriotism.

The present dispute over Kashmir is a continuation of the Hindu-Muslim problem and requires statesmanship of the highest order rather than excuses for bypassing commitments, particularly in the context of the Chinese menace.

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AFTER NEHRU WHO?

A. G. NOORANI

THE success of a great leader, Laski once said, is measured by the extent to which he makes himself dispensable. Nehru, it is by now very clear thinks otherwise. He has not only refused to name a successor but has also neglected the very necessary duty of preparing a second line of succession. Barring Lal Bahadur Shastri, the other possible contenders to premiership have come up very much on their own. All the while his own immense powers have remained secure in his own hands. Yet, in the very nature of things Nehru must go one day. "After Nehru Who?" is therefore a pertinent question to ask. Though, not many regard it so. "When I arrived in India," Welles Hangen writes in his book *After Nehru Who?*, "I met many people who said that question of Jawaharlal Nehru's success was irrelevant. They had a touching faith in Nehru's durability and preferred to close their eyes to the future." One reason for the reluctance to conceive of an India without Nehru is the ignorance about his likely inheritors. "There is the mistaken notion that only Nehru stands between India and leaderless chaos." After interviewing "hundreds of politicians" Hangen comes to the conclusion that "gifted leadership was available but little known even in India." The book contains profiles of eight leaders: Morarji Desai, Chavan, Lal Bahadur Shastri, Indira Gandhi, Jayaprakash Narayan, S. K. Patil, Menon and Kaul. "Each, it seems to me, is a living refutation of the widely accepted notion (not only outside India) that Nehru is the sole leader who can pilot India, that after he leaves the ship of State will be like a derelict in a typhoon." One must disagree here with regard to the last two. They could certainly be depended upon to usher in chaos. Kaul, according to the writer, "has made it clear in private talks recently that the army should not hesitate to seize power if the civil government were incapable of ruling or India were to fall prey to communists, foreign or domestic." Menon's devotion to democracy is well-known. "Nehru is the reluctant despot, and Menon the unwilling democrat." Happily both Kaul and Menon are in eclipse though it must be understood that the latter has "no intention of relinquishing the pursuit of power or his special place in Nehru's confidence."

Among the others Morarji Desai came very close to being elected Deputy Leader in 1961. He failed because of Nehru, whom Hangen quotes as saying that "Right wing parties are a greater menace than communist," and Morarji was the Congress Right Wing. Instead, "Nehru shelters and protects the Congress Left Wing, not only because it mirrors his ideas, but because he has an old Fabian socialist's horror of Right Wing reaction." This Left Wing as we know from the

pronouncements of Messrs. Menon and Malaviya "would pursue Nehru's version of non-alignment with an even more pronounced pro-Soviet bias"

This is something often lost sight of by those who speak of P.S.P.-Congress merger. The P.S.P. is democratic and, therefore, necessarily anti-communist. The Menon-Malaviya group is its very opposite. The so-called Congress Left has little in common with the P.S.P. Hangen has done a very good job in interviewing thoroughly the principal individuals to be considered for the Prime Minister's post and ascertaining their views on the basic issues. Informal interviews are more rewarding than a study of public pronouncements. Certainly the author has been very fortunate in the confidence which his interviewers reposed in him. Of Morarji Desai he writes, "as Prime Minister he would probably continue his social faddism, but his main political emphasis would inevitably be on a programme of modernisation (which means Westernisation) that would ultimately destroy many of the traditional values he seeks to uphold." Non-alignment will continue to be professed but "its practice may be considerably less fraudulent." For, Morarji Desai has never shared Nehru's dogma that "India should befriend Russia at all costs in the assumption that the Soviet Government would curb its Chinese ally's hostility towards New Delhi."

Lal Bahadur, on the other hand, is "a social conservative, but he identifies himself too closely with the underdog ever to feel really at home with Indian big business." Nonetheless his disagreement with the rightists does not blind him to the Red menace. "Indian Communist leaders go to Moscow and get the line there which they then try to carry out here," he told the author in May 1962. This is in refreshing contrast to Mr. Nehru's exculpation of the principal abroad while condemning the local agent. Also, Shastri realises that you cannot equate the Right and the Red. The latter is the greater danger for, as he said, "if the communists ever won here, India would change completely. Democracy would be no more. Parliament and other institutions would be finished." When Hangen asked him pointblank in the spring of 1962 if adequate steps were being taken to protect the northern border he answered 'No.'

One of the first pronouncements Chavan made as Defence Minister was the warning he administered about the Soviet Union's undependability. In common with the other two, Chavan is free from all illusion about communists. The author regards him as the political expression of the "new generation about to inherit power in India to-day." He has "a more balanced combi-

(Continued on Page 12)

Malaviya And Mineral Ores

(From Our Correspondent)

Mines and Fuel Minister K. D. Malaviya made an admission before the Congress Parliamentary Party executive on April 3 that some time early in 1957, before the general election, he had requested Messrs. Serajuddin and Company to help some Congress Assembly candidates in Basti District (U. P.) and that Rs. 10,000 was paid by the firm to one person. (Basti is Mr. Malaviya's parliamentary constituency). Giving an account of this, Mr. Raghunath Singh, the Party Secretary said, "Mr. Malaviya stated that sometime early in 1957, before the general election, he had contacted, *among others*, Messrs. Serajuddin and Company to help some Congress Assembly candidates standing from Basti district of U. P. and a sum of Rs. 10,000 was paid by Serajuddin and Company to this gentleman (one of the candidates) who gave a receipt therefor."

The Party Secretary added: "Mr. Malaviya stated that no new licence, as alleged, for the export of mineral ores was recommended by his Ministry for Serajuddin and Company. He said, that to his knowledge, no fresh permit had been given to this firm by any other Ministry." The latter statement, it will be noted, is qualified by the phrase "to his knowledge" as it necessarily had to be, there being so many ministries. The money was presumably secured for past favours, and given in the hope of future favours, though the exposure is likely to act as a deterrent to the latter.

No reaction to Mr. Malaviya's conduct was formally made available to newsmen. A resolution is said to have been prepared by some senior members of the Congress Party for adoption by the Congress Working Committee. Mr. Patil is reported to have told the executive that, apart from the question discussed that day, it would be necessary for the Congress organisation to lay down some positive code in respect of collection of funds for the Congress organisation. He said that funds should be collected in the name of the Congress and not in the name of individuals.

Surely, he must be aware that the Prime Minister some years ago laid down a positive code in respect of collection of funds when he went into a complaint by Babu Purushottamdas Tandon against Rafi Ahmed Kidwai to the effect that the latter was collecting funds in the name of the Congress and spending the same as he liked. Mr. Nehru found the complaint correct but gave the verdict that the funds had not been misspent. He also said that Congress funds should go to the Congress Treasury and not spent by collectors as they deemed fit. Obviously, the code laid down by the Prime Minister has been violated by one of the ministers who can hardly plead ignorance of the Prime Minister's decision on the issue.

It can always be said that the funds were col-

lected in the name of the Congress; the point is that they should not be spent without the necessary Congress authority, directly by collectors or persons named by them. The Prime Minister's decision in the case of Rafi Ahmed Kidwai was questioned on the ground that, if he had no authority to spend it, it could only be said to have been misspent.

All codes are likely to be vitiated by the consideration that what strengthens the organisation cannot be too lightly condemned. The principle flows directly from the pursuit of power politics to which the Congress and its leaders are wedded. Nothing striking may, therefore, be expected from the consideration of the issue by the Congress Working Committee or the manner in which its resolution is honoured by the Ministers. The stature of the Congress Working Committee cannot be said to be higher than that of the great Congress leader, Prime Minister Nehru. If the latter is in earnest about weeding out corruption, he should follow the advice tendered him by the PSP leader in the Lok Sabha, Mr. Surendra Nath Dwivedy, who has demanded the resignation of Mr. Malaviya from the Cabinet. In a Press statement he has rightly observed that Mr. Malaviya's dismissal "would not only raise the morale of the administration but also improve the integrity of public life." The Company, as he says, deals with mining material, which is directly under the control of Mr. Malaviya's Ministry. That is in fact why the request was addressed to him. Nobody denies Mr. Dwivedy's conclusion: "Mr. Malaviya is morally responsible and involvement of a Minister in this transaction is against all codes of conduct. He should, therefore, immediately resign."

SLOW SOCIALISM

Inaugurating a seminar organised by the Congress Forum for Socialist action on April 4, Mr. Nehru said, "In India we talk a lot about socialism but we proceed rather slowly towards that goal." The reason for the slow process would appear to be that votes cannot be gained only by talking a lot about socialism. In fact money is needed even for talking about socialism, much more for organisation of campaigns to bamboozle the people, and money can only be had from capitalists, as the biggest socialist in the Cabinet has emphasised in a rather awkward fashion. And as money is wanted again and again, the money gods have to be propitiated and that means slowing down the process towards socialism and increasing the wealth of the wealthy, which runs counter to the slogan of equality of opportunity. How many of us can get a free gift of one thousand rupees as easily as Mr. Malaviya's friend got ten thousand? I am prepared to bet any amount that nothing is going to happen to my friend Mr. Kapil Deo Malaviya. It is not exactly for equality of opportunity that many have donned Gandhi

caps since independence, and it is not exactly equality of opportunity that is promised when people are asked to become members of the Congress, though a certain equality of opportunity is certainly expected by the enrolling member vis-à-vis other Congressmen. As the Prime Minister admitted, there are many gaps in the thinking and action of Congressmen, but surely he should do something to prevent the widening of those gaps which has been proceeding apace.

(Continued from page 10)

nation of political attitudes than any Indian leader I have met except Nehru." One of these attitudes is his "uncanny knack for making all parties in a controversy think he is on their sides." He has however, yet to prove his standing as an all-India leader. "As long as he ran a one-caste political organisation in Maharashtra, he could never prove that he had the capacity to balance caste and communal forces, required of any all-India leader." Such limitations should not obscure his immense talent for self-development and the fact that "he has a far more cosmopolitan outlook than any Chief Minister in India has had."

Book Review

DEMOCRATIC VALUES (selected speeches of Acharya Vinoba Bhave) Published by Sarva Sangh, Varanasi, Pp. 237.

Authoritarians believe that societies are exquisitely fragile and must be guarded, at all costs, against disruption and confusion. Libertarians hold that human societies are constantly changing, and that the material and spiritual factors determining change, must be rediscovered in each generation, if societies are not to fossilise and die. People wonder if central administration and authority can ever be dispensed with. The question is not immediately relevant. Neither good government nor the rule of majority, but more and more freedom from administration, with emphasis on decentralisation of power, is the underlying theme of Vinoba's speeches (1951-1960) collected in this small volume. The reader is bound to savour the author's incomparable style and methods of analysis.

The chief aim of this book is to replace the Government of Professional Politicians, by a Government of the people. One is reminded of Bertrand Russell's opinion that "no government by a democracy, either in its political acts or in the opinions which it fosters, ever did or could rise above mediocrity." "The initiation," he continues, "of all wise or noble things, comes from individuals. The honour and glory of the average man is that, he is capable of following that initiative; that he can respond internally to wise and noble sayings and be led to them with his eyes open."

Though the aim of Sarvodaya is freedom from Government, explains Vinoba, he does not mean absence of government but an administration which governs least. Consider for a moment the relation of an ordinary taxpayer to a Government Officer. The tax-payers are collec-

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and Sri Gangolay; and yet the average official assumes great authority, to an extent where the individual tax-payer is made to feel a humble subject whose duty is to tremble and obey. The same is more or less true in public services. Even if you have to make enquiries at a Railway Station or a Post Office, the clerk behind the window is in a position of momentary power; he can decide, when to notice that you desire attention. He can, if he happens to be in a bad mood, cause you considerable annoyance by giving short replies in rough tones, leaving you as ignorant as before. Likewise, a petty police-constable can, on the slightest pretext, bully you and cause you a good deal of inconvenience. Ironically enough these men are called "public servants". The ordinary Voter, far from finding himself the source of all power, is content to be bossed over by every official, he may be required to deal with. So long as democratic control is remote and rare, so long as public administration is centralised, this sense of individual importance, before the powers that be, is difficult to avoid. Vinoba's remedy is to do away with authority delegated from the centre to the circumference. Removal of the sting of power (prerogative) from administrative positions seems to be one of the methods of removing corruption.

True freedom connotes self-discipline which is the only true discipline. It is this self-rule which constitutes the life-principle of real democratic conduct. Government after all, is a matter of priorities—of compromise, not dogma. It is quite obvious that democratic power can only operate within a frame-work of consent. But although this is the first essential, it is by no means the last. Something more than consent is required if democracy is to be more than negatively successful—there must be a common belief in the value and importance of what is being done and the commonsense that all have in some measure, the opportunity of contributing to it.

Not majority but unanimity or near unanimity is the key-note of Vinoba's political philosophy. It is of course questionable if unanimity is possible on every decision. The stress, however, is on the assurance of freedom to the weak and the powerless. Mob uprisings are not expressions of public opinion. Conscience of the people is not a matter of numbers. Right and wrong cannot be decided by a majority of vote. The true essence of democracy is that every citizen shall feel free and every minority secure. The final guarantee of the freedom of minorities is the goodwill and tolerance on the part of the majority—their standards of justice and good faith constitute the plinth of democratic values. It is the conviction of all reformists that force or threat of punishment are detrimental to the development of right conduct for they render the citizen colour-blind to the higher Values of Life.

In his brilliant and thought-provoking preface, Dada Dharmadhikari, defines the conduct of citizens towards one another as it could be under the administration which Vinoba proposes. He says "It is basic to our conception of the nature of family loyalty and the ties of kinship, that the values of the market-place and considerations of legal status have no place there." What Vinoba says is just this—that the behaviour of citizens towards one another needs to be rooted in a spirit of belonging, reciprocity and fellowship. The elements of legalism to be found in dealings today, could be steadily reduced till they disappear. This is precisely what is meant by more and more freedom from government, and this freedom from

external restraint or compulsive administration is in essence, the natural state of human affairs.

The present notion that service could be effectively rendered only through power is quickly dispelled, for as Dada says: "A man whose honest intention is to win and keep power for the Promotion of Public Welfare and so-called good is always on the look-out for circumstances that will be conducive to the success of his own bid for power. He constantly has to strike not only to capture but to retain power as the most potent instrument of Social Service." The root idea of a democratic organization is that representation of the people should be as simple, practical and direct as possible. But the politician, in the very nature of things obliged to give priority to his own success and that of his party; representation of his people becomes secondary. *This is a serious flaw in the present democratic system of struggle for power.* Every candidate strives with all his might to get his party into the saddle. The question may well be asked whether the passion for power is, any less a bar to human fellowship, than the craving for possessions? If economic competition is against man's best interest, submits Vinoba, the competition for power, even within a democratic framework is also injurious to Public Welfare. If the concentration of wealth in the hands of a few is inimical to social prosperity, the concentration of political power in the hands of a few is even more detrimental to the freedom of the common man. That is why decentralisation of Power and a wide sharing of responsible authority are put forward as one outcome of the acceptance of democratic values.

By and large it is believed that war is made by governments and not by the people of a country. If this be true, it is imperative that citizens tackle their national problems one after another, independently, by their own strength. "If we fail to do this, warns Vinoba, and allow all authority to remain in Government hands, it will be difficult to maintain Peace in the World."

—NOSHIR BILPODIWALA.

Gleanings from the Press

REVERENCE OVERDONE

For a country with a philosopher for President and an intellectual for Prime Minister, India's recent record in respect of freedom of opinion is nothing to be proud of. About a year ago the Government banned the further entry into the country of "The Lotus and the Robot" by Arthur Koestler. His sin, in the eyes of the self-righteous set in Delhi, was lack of reverence for Gandhiji. Lack of reverence for Mr. Nehru, in an article on India by John Mander, nearly led last month to the impounding of copies of the February issue of "Encounter" by the Customs authorities in Bombay.

As it happens, both the writers have discussed that strain in our emotional and mental make-up which accounts for this aberrant tendency against freedom of opinion. Arthur Koestler's words are typically forthright: "Gandhi was the father of the nation; and though Pandit Nehru is a different type of person, he had to step into the same role; whether he liked it or not, he became the new father-figure. India is a democracy only in name; it would be more correct to call it a Bapucracy..... Out of the sacred womb of the Indian family only political yes-men could emerge. Their compliance to the will of

the leader was not due to opportunism or cowardice, but to an implanted reflex." John Mander, more gently, says the same thing: "In effect, there are two co-existent patterns of political leadership in India. There is the basic democratic, party-political pattern, borrowed from Britain, to which the great majority of educated Indians are attached. Besides it, intersecting it at many points, there exists an older, semi-religious pattern of personal authority..... Elsewhere, Jawaharlal Nehru would have become an Asquith. India required him—the least religious of men, as he remarks in his "Autobiography"—to be a Guru. It is India's luck—but also her good judgment—that she has chosen a Guru with the instincts of an English liberal."

It is one thing to proscribe political subversive material which questions the territorial integrity of the country. The entry of successive issues of the "Peking Review" has been banned, for this good reason. But it is quite another thing to be so thin-skinned in the realm of ideas as to deal in the same way with books and journals of opinion. Surely, reverence for Gandhiji or for Mr. Nehru does not require that we should close our minds.

—THOUGHT.

News & Views

"THANK GOD I WAS TRIED IN INDIA"

NEW DELHI: "If I am sent back to Russia it will mean death to me." Barely a month after making this despairing plea, VLADISLAV STEPANOVICH TARASOV shed tears of joy saying: "THANK GOD I WAS TRIED IN INDIA WHERE JUSTICE IS DONE. The truth had to come out."

The acquittal of Tarasov by Mr. N. L. Kakkar, Sub-Divisional Magistrate, New Delhi, on the ground that there was no prima facie case against him, marked the happy culmination of a sensational case which began on November 25, when the 24-year-old Russian leaped off a Soviet tanker and sought refuge on a neighbouring American vessel.

Long before the Magistrate arrived, national and international newspapermen and photographers, and large numbers of the general public had converged on the Court and packed it to capacity.

Tarasov, in navy blue suit, white collar and matching tie, stood tense and trembling in the dock, but smiled incredulously with a flood of obvious relief, when the magistrate declared him innocent of a charge of theft which had been preferred against him by the Soviet Embassy.

TOTAL ABSENCE OF FREEDOM IN RUSSIA

One of the highlights of this case was Tarasov's written submission before the Magistrate on March 1, in which he gave his reasons for wanting to quit Russia. Said Tarasov: "In Russia an individual has no position. He can neither express his ideas nor do anything which the Party forbids. I had no freedom even to visit my relatives. I could not even go and stay with my own parents because they lived in another town and had limited accommodation.

"People are not in any case allowed to go to another town without the permission of the Police. In Russia a person is at the mercy of the ruling class for his destiny."

Tarasov then told the Magistrate that he had found such a life intolerable and had lived in fear of deportation to Siberia.

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**USA COULD NOT STAND ASIDE FROM FREE
NATIONS & KENNEDY**

President Kennedy said the world was at a crucial juncture and near a climax of historic convulsion.

Decisions being made now and in the near future in some 80 developing countries would ultimately decide their future economic and social systems, political leadership and institutions which would promote either consent or coercion for one-third of humanity.

"Africa is stirring restlessly to consolidate its independence and make that independence meaningful for its people through economic and social development..."

"Free Asia is responding resolutely to the political, economic and military challenge of Communist China's relentless efforts to dominate the continent..."

Latin America is striving to take decisive steps towards effective democracy—amid turbulence of rapid social change and menace of Communist subversion."

The United States, President Kennedy said, could no more stand aside "in this climatic age of decision" than could withdraw from the community of free nations.

UNITED NATIONS,

KMT DENOUNCES RED CHINA

The leader of the Kuomintang Chinese delegate to the U. N. has said the Sino-Pakistani "border" agreement would not be binding on his Government.

This is so because "the Chinese Communists cannot represent the Chinese people and have no right to conclude any treaty or agreement with any country in the name of China."

In a letter to the Security Council President the delegate, Mr. Liu Chi-ch also affirmed that Communist Chinese actions against India were "incompatible with the peaceful traditions of the Chinese people," *Reuter reports.*

Mr. Liu referred to a letter dated March 18 from the Indian representative, Mr. A. B. Bhadkamkar, stating that China and Pakistan had unlawfully apportioned part of Indian territory between them.

In this letter mention had been made also of Chinese aggression, Mr. Liu noted. "I wish to observe," he said, "that the Chinese Communist military activities in the border area between China and India are incompatible with the peaceful traditions of the Chinese people and that my Government has repeatedly condemned the use of force in disputes over unsettled boundaries."

"Whatever wrongs may have been done must be attributed, not to the Chinese people, but to the inherent aggressiveness of the Chinese Communists whose policy and tactics have consistently been to threaten the security of neighbouring countries by infiltration, subversion and resort to force."

BENGAL REDS AS AGENTS OF CHINA

CALCUTTA, West Bengal's Finance Minister, Mr. Sankar Das Banerjee, said in the State Legislative Assembly today that the Communists arrested in the State were not only pro-Peking, but some of them had a closer connection with the Chinese agents.

Mr. Banerjee, who was replying to the discussions on the supplementary budget demands, said that the cases of Communists arrested after the declaration of Emergency, would be reviewed and as soon as final decisions were taken, the Government would consider the question of their release.

three of the Council had been arrested.

USA'S POWER TO STRIKE BACK

WASHINGTON, The United States could, after a nuclear attack, strike back strongly enough to destroy the Soviet Union as a civilised twentieth-century nation.

Mr. Robert McNamara stated this before a congressional subcommittee in testimony released today.

The Secretary of Defence estimated American casualties in a Soviet nuclear attack at 10 million "at an absolute minimum and I would say the much more probable figure would be on the order of several times that."

His reply to a question on possible Soviet casualties was deleted from the record.

Mr. McNamara, who was testifying before the House Appropriations Sub-committee, said neither side could win a nuclear war "in the normal meaning of the word 'win.'"

The losses on both sides would reduce these two would world Powers to secondary or territory Powers."

The Defence Secretary said that to the best of his knowledge neither Russia nor the U.S. had 100-megaton bombs.

Although the U.S. was capable of developing weapons of this size, "it does not appear to us at the moment that the need for such weapons requires their development."

NYERERE RAPS COMMUNIST TACTICS

President Nyerere of Tanganyika told at the opening of the Afro-Asian peoples solidarity organization at Moshi, that Communist countries "are now committing the same crime as was committed by the capitalists before."

"On the international level they are now beginning to use wealth for capitalist purposes — that is for the acquisition of power and prestige," Mr. Nyerere told delegates from 58 Afro-Asian countries.

FURTHER PRIVATE AMERICAN INVESTMENT IN INDIA UNLIKELY DUE TO NEW TAX PROPOSALS

NEW YORK,

American private entrepreneurs, who have already invested in India or are considering investments, have expressed to the India Investment Centre here, as well as to the Indian authorities, their concern over the tax proposals, it is learnt.

In their initial reactions, the American investors have conveyed their adverse reaction and expresses fears that further American investments might be reduced if not completely stopped.

There are criticisms of the proposed super-profits tax the increased import and excise duties and the higher personal taxation and compulsory savings in so far as it concerns foreigners. They argue that taxation on their profits will go up to 70 or 80 per cent. and make it difficult to get foreign technical personnel to accept assignments for more than three years.

**ARMY UNITS SEIZE POWER IN
GUATEMALA**

Pledge to Rid Country of Communism

GUATEMALA CITY.

The Guatemalan Army toppled the Government of President Miguel Ydigoras-Fuentes in a lightning coup

d'état recently, set up a provisional military government and suspended constitutional rights pending the re-establishment of order.

The capital was generally calm and public services were operating normally several hours after the *coup* in which a few shots were exchanged around the presidential palace.

The new chief of the Government, appointed by the army, is a former Defence Minister, Col. Enrique Peralta Azurdia. He dissolved the Guatemalan Parliament and announced that he would rule by decree.

A manifesto issued here by army leaders said President Ydigoras-Fuentes was brought down because he had shown "tolerance and complacency" toward communists trying to take over the Government.

The manifesto said the army was taking over the Government and appointing Col. Azurdia the top army leader, to exercise the Government's executive and legislative functions.

It added that, "at an opportune time," a provisional constitution would be promulgated, guaranteeing essential rights.

The manifesto called on Government workers to act "in accord with the ordinary law of the country."

The new Government, it said, would respect its existing international agreements.

All political parties dissolved in order to "facilitate the return to normal life."

The manifesto called on Guatemalans to co-operate with the new regime in preparing for the establishment of a government that would be "truly democratic" and the "eradicating communism from the country."

SHARP DECLINE IN CHINA'S TRADE WITH RED NATIONS

NEW DELHI.

China's total trade with the other communist countries during 1961 had slumped sharply to about half of what it was in the previous year, it is learnt.

Reliable figures for 1962 are not yet available, but it is fairly certain that there must have been a further heavy drop.

In 1960, China's total trade with the other communist countries amounted to 2,238 million dollars. In the following year it dropped steeply to 1,184 million dollars.

Since in communist countries trade generally follows a political pattern, the substantial reduction in Chinese trade with other communist countries is regarded as a reflection of the growing friction between China and the Soviet bloc of nations.

Taking the three-year period ending 1961 as a whole, the volume of China's trade with the communist world went down by as much as 40 per cent. against a fall of only eight per cent. during the same period in China's trade with the rest of the world.

One reason for the general shrinking of Chinese world trade during this period was probably a sharp fall in agricultural production in China during 1960 and the consequent shortage of agricultural produce for export.

DRAFT BILL FOR ASSOCIATE STATUS FOR ENGLISH

NEW DELHI.

The draft of the Official Language Bill, seeking to make English the associate official language after January, 1965, which is to be introduced in the Lok Sabha this

as approved, it is learnt, contains a provision for review of the position after a period of ten years.

which is apparently meant to satisfy the demands of the protagonists of Hindi, is bound to be considered a snag which goes against the spirit of the Prime Minister's assurance to people in non-Hindi areas that English would continue as associate official language till such time as people in non-Hindi areas want it.

Dear Editor.....

LANGUAGE CONTROVERSY

Is it not cruel to burden the students with three languages, plus science, higher mathematics, history, geography etc.? The majority of the students are poorly fed, poorly housed and are affected by the financial worries of their parents. Thus the student is stunned physically as well as mentally, as has been lately proved in the matter of army recruitment.

We are short of human material to man our army. Our industries also cannot find competent technicians and managers, and our government is poorly administered, thanks to the over-loading of our students with more and more subjects and languages.

However if a common language is necessary to enable all the Indians to communicate with one another, then let colloquial Hindi be taught for only 3 years from standard 3 to 5, in non-Hindi areas. Let students who cannot continue their studies in colleges, master the vernacular language along with Hindi upto 7th standard. Those who wish to prosecute their higher studies, should be taught English right up from the fifth standard.

Since the Muslim rule in India, Hindi has had no fair chance to develop fully, as we had Persian and then English as court languages for centuries. Now it will take centuries to bring Hindi in line with the modern languages of the world. And are we to put into cold storage our scientific and industrial progress, till we get all this literature of the world rendered into Hindi?

Today we cannot afford the luxury of loading our poor young men with the study of three languages at the cost of the nation's scientific and technological progress.

This controversy over languages has reduced education only to a farce. It has tended to produce sheep-like 'follow the leader' quality of young men, who care for nothing except getting some service with the help of pompous certificates and degrees. If today we are not already governed by the delinquent rulers, we certainly are in the hands of mentally and physically deficient administrators who are themselves the product of the present chaotic system of education. Our rulers are after material planning but have woefully neglected human planning. The result would surely be a catastrophe on an unprecedented scale for the nation.

Rajkot.

NAUTAMLAL C. TEJPAL.

LIBERTARIAN SOCIAL INSTITUTE, BANGALORE

Feb. 8, 1963: Mr. P. Kodanda Rao addressed the Study Circle Meeting on "World Culture" Prof. M. A. Venkata Rao presided.

Mar. 22, 1963: Mr. B. K. Venkatakrishna, Advocate, addressed Study Circle Meeting on "International Situation".

Prof. M. A. Venkata Rao presided.

GIFT OF THE MONTH!!!

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THE CHALLENGE OF ASIA

by

Ralph Borsodi

Ralph Borsodi, a former Chancellor of the University of Melbourne, Florida makes a penetrating study of the conflicting ideas and ideals in this book. The author maintains in this book that the decision that Asia will make between the Free world and the Communist world will decide the political future of mankind. In our present crisis arising out of war with Red China, this book should make interesting reading.

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IN THIS ISSUE

EDITORIAL:

Page

English Is Inevitable 2

The Corruption of Moral Ideals

By M. A. Venkata Rao 5

Curtain Call at Pommapur

By J. M. Lobo Prabhu 7

A. I. C. C. At Sea

By M. N. Tholal 9

Socialism, A Barren System

By Leonard E. Read 12

Book Review 14

Gleanings From The Press 11

News and Views 14

PRICE

25

NAYA PAISA

English Is 'Inevitable'

The Official Languages Bill introduced in the Parliament by the Home Minister, Lal Bahadur Shastri, has only intensified the language controversy that has been raging so fiercely in the country over some years now. As in the case of many other major national problems, the Congress Leaders have simply muddled through this question by their usual agitational and political approach to it. They find it difficult to outgrow the fossilized traditions built up in the days of anti-British agitation under the leadership of Gandhiji. Hindi belongs to this category of Gandhian fads such as Charka and Khadi, which are still sitting like a dead and heavy weight on India's material and spiritual progress. It is therefore not enough merely to try to get an equal status for English and Hindi as official languages. The enlightened public opinion of India must now take the offensive and mount a forceful and concentrated attack on any attempt on the part of the Government to uncrown English and upgrade Hindi as the Union Official Language, as proposed in the Official Languages Bill. Bi-lingualism at the Union level with English relegated to a subordinate position will, if at all, aggravate rather than cure the disease of lingualism which is so deeply corroding into our national life and almost paralysing it.

Not One But Fourteen National Languages

That Hindi is or could be the sole National Language of India is no more than a myth sedulously fostered by the Hindi fanatics. Hindi is merely a regional language spoken by some forty per cent of the population of India, mostly concentrated in the northern provinces. Moreover the percentage of literacy of these Hindi-speaking regions is the lowest in India and very few people out of this forty per cent can read and write it. It would be therefore not surprising if it were to be found on careful investigation and study, that the number of the people who can read and write English in India is greater than those who are fairly acquainted with Hindi. It is therefore very difficult to see what special advantage would accrue to the common people of India by replacing English by Hindi and how the introduction of Hindi as an official language would democratise the administration of the country as claimed by the Hindi enthusiasts. Moreover it could not be said of Hindi with any ring of conviction that it has even developed to the stage reached by many other competent Indian languages like Bengali, Tamil, Marathi, Gujarati and others. Under these circumstances, it would be absolutely unfair and unjust to the non-Hindi group of languages, to accord Hindi a privileged position as a federal language neglecting the superior claims of these other

languages, only because Hindi-speaking politicians dominate the political scene at the Centre to-day.

This relative strength of other regional languages vis-a-vis Hindi highlights the incontrovertible fact that India has no single National Language as such but on the other hand, has as many as fourteen National Languages widely differing from one another in their origin, growth, structure and idiom. All of them stand on an equal footing and so the forced upgrading of Hindi language as the official language, will not be calculated to allay the legitimate fears and apprehensions of non-Hindi people that the Hindiwalas entertain the sinister intention to monopolise Central services and political power and thus, reduce the non-Hindi people to the status of inferior citizenship.

It seems therefore inevitable that the neutral English language which admittedly scores over all our regional languages in vocabulary both scientific and literary, and practical utility, should continue to serve as the sole All India Language as it has been doing so well over a century, in the interest of harmony, goodwill and amity among the various linguistic groups of the Indian Union.

Withdraw the Bill and Continue the Status Quo

This language issue has been with us for too long a time. It has almost divided India into two broad linguistic divisions, the Hindi and non-Hindi. Each one of these groups loves its respective mother-tongue more than any other, the only difference in the case of Hindi group being that it is now fired with the ambition of imposing Hindi on non-Hindi groups as a compulsory Official Language whether the latter will it or not. The Southerners and Bengali people are in no mood to submit to this dictation from the North, as evidenced from the plethora of denunciatory statements that have been issued by non-Hindi members of the Parliament and other leading public men of the South and the East. Shri Rajagopalachari the veteran patriot has rightly knocked the bottom out of the Hindi myth by declaring that Hindi is not 'inevitable'. We would go further and say that under the linguistic situation obtaining in India, for another twenty-five years English is indispensable at the Centre and in all High Courts and Universities. Let Hindi and other equally competent national languages have full play and free scope during this period in the primary and secondary schools and offices and courts of the respective States. Let them be given a fair opportunity of registering a satisfactory progress in the matter of meeting the language needs of a modern industrial and

progressive society which we are trying to build through our national planning. Then only will come the proper time to reconsider the advisability if at all, of replacing English by one of these national languages—not necessarily by Hindi for reasons stated above—as the official language at the Centre and the language of instruction at the University stage.

In the meanwhile the only rational and plausible solution of the problem seems to be: Bi-lingualism in the States with English as an associate and inter-regional 'link' language and unilingualism at the Centre with English as the sole federal language and the sole medium of University education throughout India. It is high time our leaders learnt to think straight and act swiftly, if the alarming linguistic situation in the country is not to further deteriorate. Especially after the ugly scenes witnessed in the Parliament on the introduction of the Languages Bill, Mr. Nehru had better advise the Home Minister to withdraw the Bill with a promise to continue the present status quo for another twenty-five years as the present time is not yet propitious for effecting the language reform. Even the Constitution may be suitably amended if need be, in order to stop the linguistic rot that has set in, in the wake of Hindi intransigence.

* * *

ASIAN TREND TOWARDS 'CENTRALISM'

It was Lenin who familiarised the world with the phrase 'Democratic Centralism.' He said that the Soviet State and the Communist Party were both founded on democratic centralism. This phrase was coined by the Communists to confuse and confound critics who said that Russian Revolution did not expand and enlarge democratic freedom as promised by Marx but in fact scuttled it under Proletarian dictatorship. The Arab world under the leadership of Nasser the Socialist Dictator of Egypt seems to have taken a cue from this Red verbal jugglery. The three States of Egypt, Syria and Iraq are reported to have come together under a so-called United Arabic Republic, whose destinies will be guided by only one party 'The United Front' embracing all the three different States. President Nasser will be, of course, 'elected' the President of this federal Republic and armed as he will be with sweeping powers to appoint and dismiss Ministers, dissolve the Federal and regional legislature, veto laws, issue decrees and make major appointments in the army and in administrative and judicial departments, he will hold unchallenged sway over the domestic and foreign policies of the Republic. A democratic tinge has been sought to be given to this totalitarian pattern by the proposed two Federal Houses, the Upper and the Lower. All the three States will have equal representation in the Upper House while in the Lower House they will be represented under the proportional representative system. The sure election of Nasser as the President, and the majority which Egyptians will

command in the Lower House will confer on President Nasser a commanding position in this new Republic. Cairo will be the capital and it is to be noted that foreign affairs, defence, education, currency trade and communication will be federal subjects.

The Constitution envisaged by the manifesto so ringingly proclaimed by the Arab leaders of the three countries, is not calculated to enthuse the democrats of the world, though as a matter of formality, the heads of the Western States might welcome the emergence of this new Arabic State. But conscientious democrats will have certainly much to say against Islam being declared a State religion even in this mid-twentieth century which reduces the 'freedom of conscience and worship' of the minorities to a nullity, particularly when the State is not founded upon the civil and democratic rights of the people. So also the banning of all political parties except 'The United Front' should come as a disappointment to all those who value freedom of combination and association and of opinion and self-expression as being of the essence of democratic freedom.

This One Party Rule under the dictatorship of Nasser in this new State will have to be watched with the greatest anxiety and attention by the world democrats. Experience has shown that in the newly emerging independent countries of backward Asia and Africa, democracy becomes the first casualty in the din and the dust raised

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 constantly by politically ambitious leaders in the name of 'Nationalism' and 'Socialism'. Arab Nationalism appears to be a hot-house growth, having sprung not out of 'a consciousness of kind' binding together all the component parts of the new Arab Republic but out of a peculiar Arab brand of Socialist Statism imposed upon the people by Nasser and his confreres who are mostly army-men. This is a case in which 'Nationalism is not the cause but the result of the State.' (Rudolf Rocker in 'Nationalism and Culture').

India, Malaya, Japan and Israel still remain as the outposts of Asian democracy in this welter of resurgent totalitarianism which is fast spreading its tentacles in Asia from China, Burma and Indonesia in the East to Pakistan and Arab States in the West. And it may be pointed out that exactly these totalitarian States want India to be strictly non-aligned, especially with Western democracies even in an emergency. India will therefore do well to learn a lesson from this Asian trend and revise her ideas of Socialism and Nationalism, if she sincerely wishes to escape this totalitarian avalanche sweeping all over Asia and preserve her free way of life.

POLITICS OF A 'MAYAWADIN'

Prime Minister Nehru's complacency regarding the Sino-Indian conflict is simply amazing and takes one's breath away. It was not very long ago that Nehru told the country that anything might happen at any time on the Sino-Indian border and people should be ready to face the Chinese challenge boldly. But his 'special' knowledge of the currents and cross-currents of world politics or better still of the working of the Communist minds of Khrushchev and Mao, must have again brought about a volte face in his thinking. The other day he said in the Parliament that it would require a lengthy lecture to elucidate his view-point that, despite the concentration of Chinese troops on Sikkim-Tibet border and the mysterious sighting of some foreign vessels suspected to be Chinese near-about Andhra coast, China was not likely to invade India again.

Whatever might be Nehru's superior wisdom in making these contradictory statements, the common man of India could not but conclude that these politics of 'Mayawad' (politics of negation) of Mr. Nehru are only a continuation of the naive policies of our ex-Defence Minister Mr. Krishna Menon who also could never imagine that China a Communist country would ever invade India. He would like to remind Mr. Nehru once again of the shameful defeat India sustained in NEFA battles in last October in consequence of such defence policies. The recent reports from the Sikkim border and from the Indian waters near Andhra State present to the country hard and brutal facts which could not be slightly brushed aside and negated by our illusions and dreams' without endangering the security and safety of India.

Or may it be that Mr. Nehru's present com-

placency is a sign of his firm determination to keep this India-China border question hanging fire for years together as in the case of Kashmir, by referring it to arbitration or to the Hague Court for which course of action he has now secured the full consent and sanction of his own party, if not of the country?

THE RUSSELL WAY TO WORLD PEACE

The Grand Old Philosopher Bertrand Russell has been once again at his pet game of communist-boosting and democracy-baiting. The light has suddenly dawned on him now that the world has been saved for peace and from nuclear holocaust by Mr. K. of Russia dismantling his rocket bases in Cuba and also by Mr. Chou's unilateral declaration of cease-fire at NEFA. In his latest book 'Unarmed Victory' he has revealed this latest discovery he has made in the realm of War and Peace and has paid handsome compliments to these two world heroes for their generosity and peacefulness.

Uptil now the democratic world attributed Mr. Russell's peace antics to his nervous anxiety and concern for the future of humanity. But this latest exploit beats all his record and exposes him in his true colours as a fellow-traveller who believes with Lenin that whatever helps the advance and progress of communism in the world is just and moral and whatever hinders and retards it is unfair and immoral. Russell's way to peace thus lies through the purgatory of communism.

Otherwise how could he bring himself to describe K. as a peacemaker when the world knows that he wanted to blast peace in the American hemisphere by planting his rocket bases in Cuba which he was forced to dismantle by Mr. Kennedy by a show of democratic strength? How could also he describe Mr. Chou as a man of peace when he first started the war on India and occupied unauthorisedly the NEFA territory by force and only declared 'cease-fire' when he found that he had overplayed his part from a military point of view and when the 'cease-fire' terms themselves dictate a unilateral peace to India favouring China at the point of the bayonet?

It is no use labouring the point and arguing with a man who has grown old and senile. As the Sanskrit saying goes, 'Old men should not be taken too seriously.'

—D. M. Kulkarni.

FOOD FOR THOUGHT

'I do not fear the Atomic Bomb. If there is a threat to our civilisation, it is more likely to come from boredom that will result from a totalitarian welfare State and from the exclusion of individual enterprise.'

—Bernard Berenson.

'When any commodity is carried to market, it is not the necessity of the vendor but the necessity of the purchaser that determines the price.'

—Edmund Burke.

THE CORRUPTION OF MORAL IDEALS

M. A. VENKATA RAO

When a minister imagines that he has cleared himself of the charge of having taken lakhs of rupees from a commercial firm, simply by saying unabashedly that he had done so for the Party Fund and when the Prime Minister, instead of subjecting such ministers to legal process, coolly and lightheartedly asserts that embezzlement really consists in the 'disgruntled' critics calling this misdeed a 'scandal', they are corrupting the moral ideal itself and blunting social conscience. Socialism has thus become a means for the perpetuation of party-power through corruption. The writer therefore pleads for revising our traditional morality in terms of rational thought and conduct.

If the salt loseth its savour, wherewith will it be salted? More dangerous than particular lapses from moral standards, (especially in those in political authority), is the attempted defence of their misconduct through sophistry. There is abundant material for the moralist, satirist and psychologist as well as for the rational social reformer in current disclosures of the misdeeds of those in positions of prestige and influence.

Such attempts to make light of serious moral offences, to whitewash them, hush them up and hide them from public view has been one of the most disturbing defects of the leaders who have come to power with the advent of independence.

This trait of theirs has of course much wider roots in social history but today in the process of running a fully sovereign, self-governing democracy with equal status and power in the comity of nations, the weakness is having grave and far-reaching ramifications that threaten the success of the democratic experiment as well as making the career of national independence itself one of hazard beyond our capacity to digest.

When a minister accused of taking lakhs of rupees from a commercial firm coolly says that it was for the sake of the party fund and thereby imagines that he has cleared himself of the moral taint imputed to him by the alleged misdeed, he is going beyond committing evil. He is **corrupting the moral ideal itself**, its image in his own and other people's mind and imagination.

When the prime minister of a democratic country refuses to subject serious charges of financial malpractice to the tune of crores against his favourite ministers (old cronies of pre-independence days) to legal progress and has the light-heartedness to pun on the word 'scandal' and to assert brazenly that the alleged embezzlement was not the true scandal but that it consisted in **calling it a scandal** by disgruntled critics, he is blunting the edge of the moral and social conscience in the nation and the electorate.

In the first days of independence in 1947, people were shocked and startled when they heard that the ruling party had started demand-

ing contributions from sugar and textile mills pro rata per unit of machinery. But as days wore on, such practice became the accepted custom of raising party funds.

The vast patronage extending to the disbursement of hundreds of crores of rupees every year in town and country under various trends, routine and extra routine, administrative and welfare departments, most of which went to party supporters at all levels now scarcely raises a murmur of protest nor any gesture of justification. Socialism has become just a means for the perpetuation of party power!

Discount with the ruling party, its leadership and their stewardship of the nation's affairs, including its security and defence, is well-nigh universal. But every by-election tells a uniform and depressing tale of thumping Congress success! Witness this month's five elections in Calcutta, a hotbed of disaffection against Congress from Gandhi's days though it has been!

Even according to permissible expenses, a total of some Rs. 15 crores for all the seats would have to be spent by a party contesting all seats. But it is estimated that over Rs. 60 crores have been spent during the last elections by the ruling party. No other party can even approach it in its capacity for raising funds because of its vantage position in the seats of administration. For instance, it was openly charged by many in press, platform and the legislature in Madras on the eve of the last general elections that bus owners had been asked to contribute Rs. 1,000 per bus to the ruling party's coffers! It was not denied.

Though commercial and industrial magnates as well as small independent traders and business men stand to lose **all** under the present policy of expanding socialism (or state monopoly of economic power), they are intimidated directly or indirectly into paying through the nose, for fear of losing heavily in the **immediate present**.

What is corrupting in these practices is the unabashed and unashamed manner in which they continue, in utter indifference to and contempt of public criticism and the outrage of social conscience.

In this exalted endeavour of rebuilding morale, rational **reflection** and creative thinking

on the foundation of morality and conscience, social and individual are absolutely necessary. There is little sign of such a renaissance of thinking in the post-independent generation, leaders or private persons.

In this critical context, it is illuminating to turn to great thinkers like Plato for guidance.

Plato astonished his contemporaries and succeeding generations of scholars and readers by his wholesale rejection of Homer as the medium of instruction, text of morality and mirror of moral exemplars to the Greeks. Homer was famed already in the fifth century B.C. as the teacher of Hellas, **par excellence**. He presented ideal types of heroes and gods to the imagination of Greeks which moulded education and conduct for young and old for centuries.

But Plato raised the question of the morality of many of the episodes in Homer's epic and challenged their purity and suitability to portray ideals for the exaltation of human nature.

He admitted the entrancing poetic quality of Homer's stanzas and the value of many wise sayings that crystallised the best conscience and experience of the Greek race. But in many other respects, he dared to point out that Homer gave too many instances that are sure to have a **corrupting influence!**

He referred to the incident of Zeus himself being seized with ungovernable lust for Here, his wife whom He throws incontinently to the ground before others for intercourse! He gives instances of the jealousy and rivalry of the Olympian gods and goddesses who take sides in human wars and rivalries, **not on merits** but as instruments of their own revenge or favouritism! Homer has no clear image of the steadfast wisdom and justice of the gods. Plato suggests therefore that educators in his ideal republic should represent divine as **One** and **unchanging** in its nature and always absolutely **just** and impartial.

The prestige of Homer as a great poet, Plato thinks, is being misused to lend prestige to the evil suggestions conveyed by the wicked doings of gods and heroes. And since poetry has a charming effect on the emotional imagination, it will influence the heart in a bad way by investing evil with radiant beauty and attractiveness. This blinds the moral conscience instead of purifying it.

He therefore suggests boldly that Homer should be **banned** from the schools in his Ideal Republic!

His point is that moral **ideals** themselves should not be corrupted by irrelevant admiration for other attractions.

We have a similar problem with us today. Europe faced this crisis in values several times—in the renaissance and in the reformation and in the French enlightenment or rationalism and

the mid-nineteenth century evolutionary materialism. Psychoanalysis and Psychiatry have added their own quota to the unsettling effects of the new thought on the role of emotions and instincts on culture, national character and the stream of ideas and ideals current in the social mind.

We have stirrings similar to these amidst us today. But they are not taking systematic independent forms. They are presenting themselves in negative forms of revolt and sweeping destruction. But reflection on **fundamentals** is urgent and necessary for the needed renovation of life and character to start and make headway.

We have to review the entire past culture of the country from the standpoint of moral conscience and rationality.

We have a plethora of material to use.

For instance, in the Sanskrit play of **Naganada** written by the emperor Sri Harsha (who reigned at Kanauj in the first part of the seventh century A.D.), we have the hero Jeemutavahana, the king of the Vidyadharas and emperor to be by grace of the goddess, Gauri, coolly ignoring the threat of Martanda a neighbouring king to invade the country!

He is more concerned with the Buddhist ideal of extinction of egoism, of nirvana. He is inspired by the bodhisattva ideal of offering his body as food for other creatures. But his duty as king to **live** for his people, to look after their welfare including security does not appeal to him. He surrenders royal power to ministers in order to look after his aged parents himself who have retired to the forest. This is no doubt a value but it should not eclipse his duty to his people which is his royal or political dharma, the duty of his station in life. The drama has a number of stanzas exalting surrender of life and offer of one's body for vultures, etc.

He is hailed as a moral hero, dharma veera. But this is surely a corruption of moral ideals. When the enemy is at the door the first duty of the ruler is to arrange night and day defence.

There are other instances in actual history of buddhist moralists preaching absolute non-violence and **welcoming the Huna invaders** rather than preaching resistance!

No wonder that centuries of such corrupt teaching that confuses flight from life's obligations out of world weariness and feebleness of heart (**hridaya dourbalya** as Krishna calls it in the Gita) with virtue produced the state of society in which Muslim looters like Ghazni and Ghorri could have their fill of plunder and later small companies of horsemen, (one hundred) could conquer whole kingdoms and **hold** them for centuries!

For the roots of strength had been undermined by a philosophy of decadence encouraging

(Continued on Page 8)

CURTAIN CALL AT POMPAPUR

By J. M. LOBO PRABHU

"The Republic of Pompapur", which in the most amusing way showed how Congress confused pomp with power, words with work, is no longer available with booksellers as probably the Congress bought and destroyed the unsold copies. The A. I. C. C. Session however raises the curtain on a pomposity of words, so empty of reason and so contrary to facts, that one is not sure whether clowns or children were holding the stage. The A. I. C. C. Session which in devious ways is paid for from the taxes of the people, cannot do much good even to the Congress, first, when discussion in it is limited only to supporting existing policies, second those who differ are threatened with action, third, when criticism of other parties is not even considered for such refutation as is possible. In any case, a Session open to the Press can only be the stage performance of an actor in a scene of seduction in which the lady is his own old wife. Good acting!

Morariji's praise of Nehru reminded me of Deputy Collectors when they came to me for some favours. He said India was for peace which sounded like the explanation of an Irishman that because he believed in Peace he knocked out his opponent. He maintained that China had betrayed our confidence without realising that our leaders, ambassadors and Secret Service must be blamed and punished for misplacing that confidence. Peace has been defined as a period of cheating between two wars and those who allowed us to be cheated, do not deserve credit.

Hanumanthayya has the courage to represent the voiceless section of the Congress which cannot understand how non-alignment is a triumph when it attracted the attack of the Chinese. The question which he pertinently raised that China did not attack Pakistan and Taiwan because of their alignment, could not be answered by anyone who therefore resorted to attacking him. When a whole party can ignore simple logic, it can only mean that it has ceased either to think or to care if others think. The many who attacked Hanumanthayya and opposed alignment, probably have never asked themselves if the aid we have received from democratic countries is not an act of alignment. The four MIGs and the factory for them is on the other hand a manifestation of non-alignment because they are of no use till our war with China is over. The Russians remind one of a man, who when asked why he did not stop two people who were hitting each other with chairs, replied that he did not want to break his own chair.

Probably imitating Nehru, whom he is hoping to succeed, Patnaik rode a high horse, with

statements which were mutually contradictory. He said he was for non-alignment but he wanted help from other countries if it did not mean flying "into their laps and going to sleep." Exactly why other countries should give us crores worth of help if we continue to behave superciliously with them, did not strike him. All the statements made at the A.I.C.C. will be used by Americans, opposed to us, to reduce the foreign aid now under discussion, which means that Patnaik and the Congress are throwing away the defence available to the country. He said that he disclosed the strength of our army to frighten the enemy but added that he would disclose our weakness to our people so that they may contribute more. He expects the enemy to hear only what frightens it. Threatening Hanumanthayya, he added that there are many in the Congress for personal benefits. If so, he should have cleared himself of charges made in the Parliament that his Airline misappropriated supplies for NEFA, that he misused his licence to make 50 lakhs by the sale of zinc tubes, that he is involved in the Sirajjudin case. If he is living in a glass house, mere bluster will not save him from stones which will be thrown back.

Nanda's was the most pitiful performance. When faced by various speakers including Ministers with the failure of planning and the misuse of Community Projects, he blamed the Agriculture Ministry and the States. If as Planning Minister he cannot control his own work, he should make way for some one who can do so or press that Planning should be given up. He complained there were divisions in the administration, the Congress Party and even in the ministries. He forgot he himself started the Socialist Forum in the Congress, the first formal division of the Congress Party. A little story will do him good. When a husband proposed that the tenth anniversary of their wedding may be celebrated with a duck for dinner, the wife inquired why a duck should be killed for what happened ten years ago.

Nehru's contribution was to declare that attacks of corruption on Ministers were bogus and personal attacks on ministers were not **bonafide**. No one cares if Malaviya eats kangaroos but if he swallows money, the attack on him is not in his personal but public capacity. Nehru spread his umbrella over Menon when he was betraying the country to the communist, but if he continues spreading it over Ministers openly accused of corruption, he may convince the country that it must replace him if there is to be any change for the better. When a man was arguing for polygamy he was told that the law knew better what one wife meant, and had to protect him from too many of them. Nehru

had better look after himself before he protects those who must defend themselves.

The Conference missed the opportunity to answer the charges which were made on the same day in Parliament by Frank Anthony that Nehru and Menon by their interference were responsible for the defeat of our armies, by Nath Pai that "groupism and favouritism" in the army had lowered its morale and that the communists in and outside the Congress, were driving Nehru to make statements which will forfeit foreign assistance. Even if the Congress is wonderful, it cannot claim the right to throw away assistance the country can receive from others.

(Continued from Page 6)

ing shirking and softness and withdrawal into the shell of individual egoism. Sanyas and moksha became exclusive social ideals. Other worldliness ruled supreme in the intellectual and moral realms which left this world to the tender mercies of the aggressor, the beast of prey who was closer to nature.

Moral philosophy should construct an ideal of life that should help us how to make the best of life, harmonising **all values** and not deny them altogether (neti, neti, negation) and shrinking from hardness.

We should, like Plato, have the courage and honesty to revise our traditional ideals in terms of reason.

We need not for instance defend the conduct of Sri Rama in sending Sita in pregnant condition to the forest just to please unthinking ignoramus like a washerman critic. Moreover, even if he wanted to abandon her, why should the poor innocent lady be sent to the forest and left there alone? She could have been left in a house in the capital city?

Also it is not necessary to defend Sri Rama in his treacherous action in killing Vali by shooting at him from behind a tree all unknown to him. This is unwarrior-like and indefensible. A vedantist defends this action as being motivated by the fear that if he challenged him in open fight, Vali **might** surrender and it would then become his duty as a kshatriya to save one who surrenders! And he had promised Vibhishana to kill Vali beforehand; This is to defend one wrong by another!

The right procedure is to admit the wrong done to Vali by Rama as part of his diplomacy. It was the price he had to pay for the friendship and help of Vibhishana and his hosts in invading Lanka. The end justifies the means, **if the end is good and necessary.**

These are only instances.

It is high time that a thorough spring cleaning of traditional morality is undertaken and new rational ideals of conduct and types of character, national and individual, are constructed as part of nation-building in the era of independence.

"The dream of a communist rift is another mirage towards which romantic eyes are directed from New Delhi. Khrushchev has spoken out pretty decisively that this rift is not going to be. As two are needed for any quarrel, without his participation there can be no real battle in communist camp, even if that possibility be at all relevant for the Sino-Indian problem. Nor are the recent difficulties of Western Powers and their mutual differences of any use or consequence for us, however interesting they may be to the international observer. Other people's difficulties may be a kind of vulgar consolation for those who are in trouble, but such satisfaction is neither noble nor wise, nor at all helpful in the direction of easing our problems. Our road is plainly indicated. The way down to Peking is easy as it slopes down, but it leads to peril and dishonour."

—C. Rajagopalachari.

'Hindi is not inevitable', Says C. R.

Madras, April 16—In an exclusive interview on the Languages Bill, Mr. C. Rajagopalachari told the *Hindustan Times*: "I see no good in arguing with a public and a leadership that wish by hook or crook their mothertongue to become the official language of administration all over India and the medium of study and of examinations so that the entire administrative machinery may in due course of time become their instrument for fully achieving their purpose."

"I entirely agree with Mr. Frank Anthony in what he told Parliament."

"We must give up the notion that Hindi is inevitable and unite all our efforts to oppose and resist injustice. If we admit the ultimate inevitability we have necessarily to admit immediate steps for gradually reaching the goal as quite justifiable."

"We should not, therefore, presume that it is inevitable. If we allow that we stand defeated even now."

"If the Prime Minister and his Government weakly yield to folly and demagogic pressure they would be abetting disintegration of India and splitting of our motherland into Hindi and non-Hindi. The neutral and international medium of English will alone sustain and nourish unity, enlightenment and peace."

A. I. C. C. AT SEA

(By M. N. THOLAL)

OPENING the session of the All-India Congress Committee, the Congress President, D. Sanjayaya, reaffirmed the determination of the people to recover "every inch of territory illegally occupied by Chinese aggressors". He said there could be no surrender to aggression and the Chinese invaders had to be driven out from our sacred soil. What some far-sighted people are worried about is not the determination of the people but the determination of the Government, as evidenced by the measures it is adopting to recover "every inch of our territory". For, it is the determination of the Government that really matters and not the determination of an ignorant people who are easily misled. Had the determination of the people been the decisive factor, the Chinese would not have succeeded in their October invasion.

An appeal for unity is all right, even though unnecessary, for barring some Communists there is unity in the land against the Chinese. But the Congress President in appealing for unity struck a discordant note. "Unfortunately", he said, "I have come across certain Congressmen who have not completely expressed themselves in favour of certain fundamental policies of the Congress, and whose behaviour is such that would not enhance the prestige and honour of the Congress." And he threateningly added, "We have taken serious notice of this." Apparently the prestige and honour of the Congress is dearer to him than the prestige and honour of the country, for the sake of which certain Congressmen have failed miserably. Surely those fundamental policies of the Congress do not constitute its creed that the Congress President should dictator-like threaten those who differ from them?

It is a sad commentary on the patriotism and rectitude of Congressmen that they do not have the courage to speak out boldly what is in their hearts, for fear of offending the Leader. It is a continuation of the Gandhian era which led to the division of the country, and makes one seriously doubt the capacity of the Congress to face up to the task of confronting it. Indeed, except for Mr. Hanumanthiya's contribution, the whole debate was unrealistic and hollow in the extreme and it seemed as if the debaters had been set their tasks—in any case they knew what their role was—and they did what they could to the best of their poor ability, without their hearts or even their minds in it.

Mr. Morarji Desai said the Chinese perhaps thought that since India was wedded to peace and non-violence, it would never try to meet aggression by force and that they would be able to get away with what they desired. Surely the

Chinese knew what happened in Kashmir when we gained our independence. Surely they had heard of Goa also, proof positive of our non-violence. Instead of thus bamboozling his audience he would have been nearer the mark if he had said the Chinese knew the state of our unpreparedness to face a massive invasion, even though we knew the Chinese were massing their forces on our border. Of course he could not say that, because it would have been an indirect condemnation of our policy of non-alignment as well as of the Government, of which he is such a shining light, responsible for the unpreparedness.

As if he had that guilty idea in mind, he said, "We are going to make our armed forces fully capable of throwing out the aggressor from our territory." That is the crux of the question: whether within the time at our disposal or the period he envisages, our armed forces will be able to throw out the aggressor from our territory. For, the aggressor also, according to the Prime Minister's own version, is strengthening his position by further massing of troops on our borders. We should not talk as if the Chinese had gone to sleep after the October-November invasion, but yet such silly unpatriotic talk, implicit in our talk of strengthening our armed forces, is absolutely necessary to bolster up the tottering non-alignment, and that is why it is being indulged in by almost all Congress leaders.

"Non-Alignment Cannot Fail"

The strength of the Chinese Army is no secret and to face that stern reality cannot by any means be described as spoiling the morale of the country or its armed forces. On the other hand, to accept Mr. Desai's resolve and its ability to accomplish the task without massive external aid may well be called complacency, which brought about the October invasion. For nearly thirty years we heard that non-violence cannot fail and now for some years past we have in effect been hearing that non-alignment cannot fail. Even after non-violence failed successively, we went on hearing from our great Leader, "Non-violence cannot fail". Similarly ever after non-alignment has failed, we go on hearing from our great Leader and his apparently devout followers that non-alignment cannot fail.

If non-alignment has not failed, why did it take such a long time for the AICC to meet after the October invasion? Was that invasion an insignificant event? Had the Congress President and Secretaries gone to sleep or were ordered sleep by the present Super-President of the Congress? (Nehru called Gandhi the Super-President of the Congress, and he is truly his successor). Were the Congress leaders afraid

that, if the session were held soon after the invasion, the failure of non-alignment would be too fresh in public memory for them to deny it even a semblance of plausibility? Was not the session postponed for such a long time in the interest of the policy of non-alignment—until in fact they came to the conclusion that the main lesson of the October invasion had been forgotten? Will it be treachery on the part of any one to say that the Chinese leaders are also, like Mr. Desai, saying among themselves that they are going to make armed forces fully capable of dealing with our increased strength on the border as they did with whatever there was of it in October last?

Coming from a region most likely to be affected, Mr. K. C. Pant on the same day in Parliament said the people in the U. P. hill districts "living directly under the snout of the Chinese dragon" naturally felt concerned over the reported massing of Chinese troops barely four miles beyond the border. The thickly populated hill areas on the northern border must be defended effectively, he said, and India should hit the Chinese lines of communications in Tibet rather than abandon the Himalayas to them, should a situation arise when the choice lay between these two courses of action. Was not, Mr. Anthony asked in Parliament on the same day, the decision to deny even the minimum tactical air support to the troops in NEFA taken at the highest political level? Of course it was and for the best of reasons, and these reasons Mr. Pant entirely ignores when he says that India should hit the Chinese lines of communications in Tibet rather than abandon the Himalayas to them. And Mr. Pant has got to ignore them because he has made up his mind to support the policy of non-alignment which makes for our aerial weakness and disabled us from giving tactical air support to the troops in NEFA. Let us feel like our countrymen on the border. Let us put ourselves in their place and see what it feels like. Let us then put our hands and hearts and say, If we can, "Non-alignment is the best course for us." The trouble with us is that we do not feel for our own countrymen, that those of us who are at a distance from the border can talk of non-alignment with the assurance that by the time the Chinese reach our homes the American will be upon them. That is the extent of Congress patriotism indirectly and inadvertently unmasked by Mr. Pant.

The Question

It is true we are getting aid under non-alignment. We shall get more aid under it, but the question today is, not whether it will make our armed forces fully capable of throwing out the aggressor at some future date, as Mr. Desai put it, but whether it has made our armed forces fully capable of repelling invasion that may come at any time now. He will be a bold man who answers that question in the affirmative, and if the answer is in the negative, as it must

be, in view of our Prime Minister's request to the USA for air cover, then our non-alignment has been a failure. To hope that it may yet succeed is to put the nation's future in jeopardy and it is no part of wisdom to take chances with a country's security. There should be no element of doubt where our security is concerned. All that is being said is that we are better prepared. That "better" may not be enough to prevent the Chinese advance. It obviously is not, otherwise something more satisfactory would have been claimed than "better" preparation. It reminds me of a fellow-student who was always better prepared for the forthcoming examination than he was for the last one in which he got plucked.

We should not be found napping again. We should not be found living in a world of our own creation, happy as that world for the moment seems. And yet, except in the speech of Mr. Hanumanthiya, there was at the AICC session no awareness in any one else's mind of the clear implications of non-alignment in the context of the expected Chinese invasion, or of our attempt, if and when it comes, to throw the Chinese out of our territory.

Mr. B. Patnaik, Chief Minister of Orissa, said he did not understand why it was necessary to reiterate the policy of non-alignment time and again when it had been clearly accepted by the Party and was understood by every Congressman. It is true that it has been clearly accepted by the Party but the reason for reiterating it obviously is that those who form the Party doubt the efficacy, as they did decades ago the efficacy of non-violence, for which reason Gandhi had to emphasise its efficacy every day. Mr. Patnaik said the country should be prepared to meet the Chinese challenge "even if there is no United States or no Soviet Union to help us, and even if we are to be occupied for a quarter of a century." That should be our approach, Mr. Patnaik frankly said. What makes him think the Soviet Union can help us against China? There, however, is where the difference lies. The average Indian, and even the average Congressman is not prepared to see the country occupied for a quarter of a century, a proposition admittedly implicit in non-alignment. Does he think India will be able to free herself after the Chinese occupation of the country for 25 years? For Mr. Patnaik and most Congressmen Mr. Nehru and his doctrines come first and the security of the country is something to be gambled with.

A common debating trick when reasons are lacking is to exaggerate beyond recognition the stand of the opponent and then ridicule it. Mr. Patnaik again carried away the palm when he said it was wrong to think that "at the first stress we fly into somebody's lap and then go to sleep". A wag would be inclined to retort "Fly into somebody's lap while you can," but Mr. Patnaik would apparently prefer to fly into somebody's lap after a quarter of a century's occupation of

the country by the Chinese. He might, like Mahatma Gandhi, have added, "Ultimately we shall emerge victorious. What are a few centuries in the cycle of time?" He seems in fact to be a serious rival to Jaya Prakash Narain, for he said, "We must have the guts and determination to remain free, otherwise, to use the least harsh words, we are not yet free and not fit to be free." These are words born of great expectations but here unwittingly he declares his complete agreement with the Chinese who want to liberate India. His was indeed an outspoken performance from a joyful, hopeful heart, but what makes one wonder is that all these fervent devotees of non-alignment did not even clap their hands to show the warmth of their attachment to non-alignment. That should induce one to think they are only paying lip service to the cause, lest they are found lagging behind in the race for favours from the Bestowers of ALI Gifts.

Congressmen should have an anthem of their own addressed to Nehru. It may be adapted from the British anthem:

Thy choicest gifts in store
On us be pleased to pour.
Long may you rule
On all those whom you fool.....

That the race is on is clear from what passed between Messrs. Desai and Jain. Mr. Ajit Prasad Jain said he was a little surprised to find that the mover of the resolution, Mr. Desai, had perhaps by chance forgotten to say anything about the reiteration of the policy of non-alignment made in the resolution. In the course of his reply to the debate Mr. Desai more than made up for the unpardonable lapse by declaring, "We cannot have unity even at the cost of non-alignment, as that unity will destroy the fabric of the country." This policy, he said, had been supported, strengthened and popularised by Mr. Nehru. "Let us thank him," he said, "that he has taken up this policy in a very bold way." (Cheers.)

Many indeed are the suppositions on which non-alignment is based. Seth Govind Das said if India gave up non-alignment, it would hasten a world war. One would have thought if India gave up non-alignment the Chinese would desist, as they desist from attacking small Taiwan and from occupying Quemoy and Matsu. If India joined the Western Bloc, he said Russia would completely side with China. What makes him think the present partnership is incomplete? China does not want soldiers and the rest is provided by Russia, including bombers and missiles and submarines. Their maps show the identity of purpose outlined by their Prophet Lenin in famous maxim, "the way to London lies through Peking and China". Congressmen, he said, must prepare the people for any sacrifice necessary for defending the country's honour and integrity—except perhaps the sacrifice of non-alignment which alone can defend the country's honour and integrity.

Tre Assam Chief Minister, Mr. B. P. Chaliha, did not want to be outdone by anybody. He said the Chinese aggression has given four new experiences to the country. One, a nation whom we thought to be our friend betrayed us, (The Swatantra Party deserved to be condemned for having warned us against that nation). Experience No. 2 is that we are not militarily strong enough to deal with such betrayal. No. 3—the policy of non-alignment which the country has been following is correct. Is it correct because we should not be militarily strong enough to deal with such betrayal? Experience No. 4—in order to be really strong we should accelerate not the military programme but the economic programme. So here we have the whole argument for non-alignment in a nut-shell; the Chinese betrayal and our inability to deal with that betrayal!

It is difficult to disagree with Mr. M. N. Bahuguna who said, "Non-alignment is something inherent in the genius of the country". Mr. Bahuguna was very modest about his country. Not non-alignment alone by everything that leads to the enslavement of the country is inherent in the genius of the country, particularly the Hindus. Is it for nothing that we hold the world's record in slavery—slavery of a thousand years which Attlee in a fit of sentimental generosity put an end to—despite the desire of the Father of the Nation to the contrary—in 1947? Our Prime Minister has boldly declared—all honour to him—that he would rather see the country overrun by the Chinese than give up non-alignment.

MR. NEHRU ALWAYS SHIELDS THOSE WHO BASK IN HIS FAVOUR

Speaking in the Lok Sabha on demands for grants for the Home Ministry, Mr. H. V. KAMATH, M.P., attacked the "sommolence, complacency and apathy" of Government; he also criticised the Government's misuse of emergency powers which, instead of serving to strengthen the nation, were being used to cover up the same "sloth, indolence and corruption" that had "tainted and stained its escutcheon in the days before the emergency".

Mr. Kamath also wanted to know why the administration was so eager to shield its personnel when they violated strict norms of behaviour.

He referred to an incident where material from the draft address of the President to the Parliament leaked out much before the scheduled date. Mr. Kamath alleged that a Cabinet Secretary, who addressed a meeting at the Institute of Public Administration on February 11, referred to the draft address of the President and said it was a secret document till the 18th February, when it would be delivered. Then the official, according to Mr. Kamath, quoted from the draft address to illustrate what he was saying.

Pointing out that the Prime Minister had shielded the Cabinet Secretary on this occasion, Mr. Kamath, said, "Mr. Nehru has been in the habit of doing this since Independence—shielding his favourites, his friends, those who bask in his favour right from the days of the Jeep Scandal."

SOCIALISM: A BARREN SYSTEM

By LEONARD E. READ

SOCIALISM depends upon and presupposes material achievements which socialism itself can never create. Socialism is operative only in wealth situations brought about by modes of production other than its own. Socialism takes and redistributes wealth, but it is utterly barren when it comes to producing wealth.¹

But first, let the terms of discourse be clarified. Socialism is state ownership and/or control of the means of production. And democratic socialism is no less socialism than the autocratic variety. Socialism is just as surely state ownership and/or control of the means of production when installed by majority vote as when installed by a dictator. Socialism doesn't give a hoot how it climbs into the political saddle.

Communism can be properly defined as the communalization by force of the product of all. Marx put it succinctly: "From each according to ability, to each according to need." There have been some 200 small-scale communistic experiments in this country, one of the first being the Plymouth Colony during its first three years. The production of every colonist was forcibly directed into a common warehouse and doled out by those in authority according to need. Free choice of what to do with the fruits of his own labor was denied the individual Pilgrim.

In what respect, then, do socialism and communism differ? As far as their mode of operation is concerned, not at all. Bear in mind that Khrushchev and party refer to themselves as "communists," but that they call their nation the "Union of Soviet **Socialist** Republics." They know full well, and we should know, that socializing the **means** of production and socializing the **results** of production are but two sides of the same coin, inseparable in practice. The state that controls production is going to control the distribution of what is produced; and the state that distributes the product must, eventually, control its production.

While there are meaningless differences in detail between fascism, communism, and socialism, we must conclude that they are of the same warp and woof as the welfare state, the planned economy, Fabianism Nazism, and state interventionism: the application of state force to both the **means** and the **results** of production. And insofar as the policies of the New Deal, the Fair Deal, the New Republicanism, and the New Frontier socialize, or forcibly communalize, or plan production and distribution, then, to that extent they, too, exemplify the same collectivist principle.

The Premise, in Two Parts

Now to return to my original assumption.

Socialism depends upon and presupposes material achievements which socialism itself can never create.

This accusation has two parts: (1) there has to be wealth before wealth can be socialized; and (2) socialism cannot create the wealth in the first place.

With everyone's wealth at zero, there is no one from whom anything can be taken. Many of our Pilgrim fathers starved during the first three years of community communism because there was so little in the warehouse to dole out. Communism, or one of our numerous names for the same thing, the welfare state, presupposes the existence of wealth which can be forcibly extorted. Is this not self-evident?

There remains, then, only to show that socialism—the planned economy—cannot give rise to the **means** of production; that is, state ownership and/or control of the means of production cannot create the wealth on which state welfare rests.

State Socialism

State socialism is authoritarianism; that is, it rests on coercive force. There is no socialistic act in this country, or in Russia, or anywhere else, that is not backed by the police power of the state. If anyone has any doubt about this, let him refuse to pay his share of subsidies to farmers, or of TVA deficits, or of our governmental gifts to other socialistic governments, or whatever. The penalty for noncompliance is severe, indeed. This, or the threat of it, is coercion, pure and unadulterated!

The idea I am trying to develop will not make sense to any person who does not fully grasp the fact that all state action rests on force or the threat of force. Coercion is government's essential and distinguishing ingredient. The distinction between you as an agent of government and you as a private citizen is that as an agent of government you have the constabulary back of you: issue an edict, and I obey or take the consequences. Lose the backing of the constabulary and you are restored to private citizenship: issue an edict, and it has no more force than a chamber of commerce resolution, and I do as I please.

Even if every citizen is in agreement with a particular law, the law still has the police force to support it. Government is law backed by force; this is government properly defined.

An Illusion of Productivity

Socialism, we must admit, gives the illusion of being productive. The productivity, however, exists in spite of socialism, not because of it.

The productivity originates in the free, creative energy which ignores or escapes socialism's repression; that is, which oozes through or around socialism's smothering blanket. In England following the Napoleonic Wars, and in the United States under the NRA and the OPA, legal restrictions blanketed large areas of production and exchange. But note this: neither country's socialistic decrees were entirely obeyed. In each instance there were gross violations of socialism, with the result that the people managed to live. Such material well-being as there was appeared to come from socialism. It actually came, however, from free, creative energy which for obvious reasons, was more or less hidden and unpublicized.

Numerous other distractions help to hide socialism's essential sterility. For instance, we observe that many government schoolteachers act no less creatively than do teachers of private schools. Scientists in the employ of government have inventive experiences, as do independent scientists and those in corporate employ. TVA, a socialistic enterprise, produces electrical energy of the same quality as that from an investor-owned plant. Agents of the state and private citizens more or less look alike, dress alike, behave alike. We choose our friends as often from one set as from the other. Meeting a stranger, one could not tell to which category he belongs.

What Really Happens

If we would properly evaluate the effect of coercion, with its absolute absence of creativeness, we should have to disregard these distractions. We need to recognize that it is not the government schoolteacher who exercises the three types of coercion implicit in socialistic education: (1) compulsory attendance, (2) government-dictated curricula, and (3) the forcible collection of the wherewithal to pay the school bill. Furthermore, we rarely feel any coercions simply because we meekly obey the laws backed by force; that is, we **do** send our children to school, we **do not** prescribe our own curricula, we **do** pay the tax bill. But refuse to acquiesce in any one of these three phases of compulsion and see what happens!

The scientist employed by the state, trying to figure out how to put three men on the moon, exercises no coercion. The coercion is applied to the collection of the funds which pay him to work as a free agent. He will work just as freely, as creatively, regardless of how his salary is collected. A billion dollars, whether garnered at the point of a gun or voluntarily donated, is in either case a billion dollars. A dollar extorted or a dollar freely given is still a dollar, with a dollar's purchasing power.

In the absence of socialism's coercion, each dollar would be used in accord with its owner's choice, to buy food or clothing, to educate the children, to take a vacation, to buy a sailboat.

Coercion only diverts the dollars from owner use and puts them to state use. If, as predicted, putting three men on the moon will cost \$20 billion to \$40 billion, then that much freedom of choice will be destroyed. This enormous portion of our productivity will be socialized. The people are coercively relieved of their individual choices in order to permit a single choice, exercised by whoever heads the socialistic régime. Authoritarianism is forcibly substituted for individual liberty. What we witness here is a diversionary process accomplished by police action.

The Forgotten Man

We will go astray in our analysis of this complex process unless we examine coercion at one of its points of impact—for instance, the impact on the citizens who are forced to foot the bills. Let's, then, ask ourselves this question: Is the extortion of your income (in order that another may have the say-so as to what it will be spent for) a creative act? Does it make any difference to what use the other will put it? Charity, relief, moon shots, or whatever? Does it make any real difference whether or not the other is a person or a collective? Is this extortion in itself creative? There is no rational, affirmative answer to these questions. Extortion—coercion—is destructive. **It destroys your freedom of choice!** Coercion, by its nature, is destructive.

Misdirection of Resources

We now come to the most important point in this thesis: True Mr. Big, or the head of any other socialist state can, with the money he has obtained by diverting funds from producers' use to his own use, induce creative action along the lines of his choice. But observe where this authoritarian process channels creative energies: **it puts genius at work on questionable if not downright evil ends!** Let us remember that not all genius is employed on the side of the angels. Is it not plain that creative energies can be turned to destructive ends? Do we need any more proof of this than the amazing ingenuity that has brought about the most destructive force ever devised by man? But putting aside the H-bomb, and such miraculous and fascinating follies as orbiting monkeys and men around our earth, reflect on the countless economy-destroying projects that result from man lording it over his fellow men.

I began this paper with the resolve to demonstrate that socialism depends upon and presupposes material achievements which socialism itself cannot create, that socialism is productively sterile. But after thinking it through, I must confess that my affirmation can be proven only to those persons who see the long-range effects of present actions.

—Condensed from *The Freeman*.

Book Review

Freedom and History by Professor H. D. Lewis, The University of London. George Allen and Unwin, London, Pages 334. 42s. 1962.

Professor Lewis is now the editor of the famous series of original philosophical works started over half a century ago under the name of The Library of Philosophy by the late Professor J. H. Muirhead who attained a leading position among idealist philosophers inheriting the mantle of Anglo-Hegelian (Graeco-Christian) tradition in European philosophy. The library now fitly bears his name in recognition of his long and devoted service to philosophy. Professor Lewis continues the catholic tradition of his predecessor.

The volume under review entitled *Freedom and History* consists of several essays, reviews and addresses of Professor Lewis published over several years and now brought together in one volume. They display a distinct unitary outlook and bear signs of being integral parts of a complete philosophy of human life from the standpoint of the highest values of culture and religion.

The bulk of them are concerned with the issue of freedom. They are weighted with informed anxiety for the future of Western civilisation (as such) vis-a-vis the challenge of communist totalitarianism to free nations and the free way of life everywhere. He is acutely aware of the overall drive of social and psychological forces in contemporary thought (in the sciences and the humanities) towards a mechanisation of outlook ignoring the note of inward freedom.

He devotes several chapters to the thought of T. H. Green and Rousseau to show how an inadequate individualism passes into a false collectivism in their thinking. The general will gets confused with collective herd consciousness in which individual thinking is lost. In one later chapter he reviews a book by Barbara Wootton which as usual in present thought over-stresses the role of the environment in the incidence of crime and minimises the element of individual responsibility and freedom. This, he thinks, is a characteristic defect of the modern temper, which is also typically exemplified by Marxism which issues in economic determinism. The experience of communist countries does not bear out this vision for even without the responsibility for making one's living on one's own and with a secure living provided by the State, we find juvenile delinquency becoming quite a problem and individual irresponsibility a fearful social puzzle, hundreds being executed every year for disregarding socialist property.

Christian theology emphasises the importance of history for the destiny of man, for God revealed Himself in a unique revelation and incarnation at a point of time and will reappear at a point of time to establish a kingdom of God on earth. This is supposed to give a social goal to history, a far-off divine event to which the whole creation moves. St. Augustine sketched a political theory of the City of God in this context. To this is affiliated a social hope of an "earthly paradise," a perfect society on earth in the future to be developed by the historical processes of nations, revolutions and evolutionary reforms. To promote this social end is good; to obstruct this is bad. Marxism has its own dialectical version of this social meliorism. Professor Lewis devotes several chapters to a consideration of the implications for freedom of a sane philosophy of history.

—M. A. Venkata Rao.

Gleanings from the Press

NEHRU'S SENSITIVENESS TO PARTYMEN'S WRONG-DOING WEARING AWAY

It is sad to note that the PM is now inclined to explain allegations based on documented evidence of corruption of Congress ministers as just another strategy of anti-Congress criticism. His sensitiveness to wrong-doing on the part of his partymen, as I observed with pain a couple of weeks ago, is wearing away. These gifts from managing agents of companies are not gifts but are the material gains of intimidation and illegal favours. In the simple terms of our old Penal Code these collections amount to criminal intimidation or bribery. The purpose for which the money obtained was to be used is irrelevant, be it election purposes or even the most saintly and pious causes conceivable. The crime which a person in authority, or in a position to use authority, commits by using or offering or threatening to use such authority in favour of or against a person in order to obtain a 'gift', be it for whatever purpose, is clearly defined in the Indian Penal Code. No learning or government rules are needed to supplement the provisions of this scientifically drafted code. That this crime was widely and openly practised makes no difference either. The authority given by Parliament to managing directors to give away company funds does not modify or mitigate the offence of the minister, or official, who presumably used his position of authority to get the custodians of the company's fund to part with it. A callus is developing rapidly which is fatal to good government and democracy.

That persons belonging to Opposition parties make a great noise about these things, only proves the public utility of Opposition parties. It does not make the acts less criminal. These donations obtained by the party in office make a tremendous block in the way of fair elections and converts democracy into a marionette of the Congress moneybag clientele.

—C. R. in 'SIVARAJYA'

News & Views

KENNEDY SUGGESTS GREATER AID TO INDIA WASHINGTON.

President Kennedy asked Congress for 4,525 million dollars in foreign aid during the fiscal year beginning July next—596 million dollars more than the figure appropriated by Congress for the current year.

The President began his message with the famous quotation from Milton: "Peace hath her victories no less renowned than war." and said:

"No peacetime victory in history has been as far-reaching in its impact nor has served the cause of freedom so well as victories scored in the last 17 years by this nation's mutual defence and assistance programmes.

"These victories have been in the main quiet instead of dramatic. Their aim has been not to gain territories for the United States, for support in the United Nations, but to preserve freedom and hope and to prevent tyranny and subversion in dozens of key nations all over the world."

Mr. Kennedy noted the success of the United States aid efforts in Turkey and Greece in saving them respectively from "the Soviet external aggression and the Communist internal subversion" as also the success of threat made plain by the Chinese attack on India last fall may require additional efforts on our part to help bolster security of this crucial area."

MISSILES FOR BORDER, FILTERS IN PLAINS — WESTERN AID PLAN

The Hindustan Times Correspondent reports from Washington that a clearer picture is now available of the strategic framework within which Anglo-American assistance may be available for India's air defence.

The main guidelines are reported to have been approved by U.S. Defence Secretary McNamara and Britain's Defence Minister Peter Thronycroft in London with details concerning the quantity and equipment to be negotiated in consultation with the Indian defence team arriving here on Monday.

Basically, the Anglo-American plan envisages different forms of protection for the belt of mountainous and sub-mountainous territory adjoining the Tibetan border and the rest of the country.

The strategic centres in the border zone would be guarded by ground-to-air missiles, whereas possible targets deeper in the plains would be under fighter cover.

The Western assistance would take the form of ground-to-air and air-to-air missiles, radar and communication equipment and to increasing the number rather than improving the type of aircraft in IAF service.

SUPER TAX IS EXTRA BURDEN SAYS LONDON TIMES

LONDON,

The Times today criticised India's new super profits tax as an additional burden.

It said the new burden was "bound to make foreign firms in India think twice before going ahead with any further expansion."

An editorial headed "Indian tax on efficiency" in this independent daily, said that company taxation in India was already at a high level.

Two particular parts of the budget of six weeks ago were causing concern in the business world—the super profits tax and the new restriction on the value of individual emoluments which could be set against company taxation.

OBJECTION

The Times objected that the new tax would fall most heavily on the most efficient firms and that it would particularly penalise new firms in the initial stages of growth—a time when they would normally want to retain a higher proportion of their earnings. The estates too would be badly hit, it added.

The newspaper said the need for the severity of the Indian budget was not in dispute. The cost of the defence effort against China had already opened a large gap between revenue and expenditure.

It said all sections of the community should be expected to share the extra burdens. But the Indian authorities would be well advised to consider whether the super profits tax proposals might not be against the longer term interests of the Indian economy, it added.

The paper pointed out: "If the extra defence effort is not to stultify the Third Five-Year Plan, dependence on foreign aid is bound to increase rather than diminish."

ANTHONY DENOUNCES LANGUAGES BILL

NEW DELHI, April 15.

Mr. Frank Anthony, M.P., today suggested that the Official Languages Bill should be circulated at least to the

Foundation of the Government for their opinion before it is sought to be passed.

In a statement Mr. Anthony said it would appear from lobby reports that the Government proposed to rush through the Bill in a week's time. This, in his view, would be an "unpardonable imposition" on the non-Hindi speaking people.

An immediate disastrous effect of the implementation of the Bill, he said, would be the upsetting of the whole employment pattern.

"While, at present, the Hindi speaking candidates find it difficult to compete with those from the non-Hindi speaking States, the implementation of this measure will give an interesting monopolistic stranglehold to the most inferior candidates merely because of the accident of their knowing Hindi," Mr. Anthony said.

MR. NATH PAI M.P.'S FLING AT SYSTEMATIC PRUNING OF DEFENCE MINISTER CHAWAN'S POWERS

Mr. Nath Pai in his speech in the Parliament during the Budget Session said: "there was no strategy. No sooner had Mr. Chavan come here, efforts were made to prune his wings. 'The Defence Minister has been caged, cabined and crippled'."

He referred to the vital aspects of the Colombo proposals, adding. "Is not the Defence Ministry concerned with this? Everybody was called when the delegation of the Colombo powers were here. One absence was that of the Defence Minister".

In the past Mr. Nath Pai pointed out, Defence was subordinated to External Affairs. "Today the time has come when we should try to see to it that Development, External Affairs and Defence play in symphony. The old cacophony and discordance must go. The stream must be integrated and if anything both Development and External affairs must be subordinated to the requirements of the defence of our country and everything else will come after that."

10-YEAR PLAN TO CHECK POPULATION GROWTH

AURANGABAD.

Mr. M. D. Chaudhari, Maharashtra's Health Minister has suggested a ten-year family planning programme for the State to tackle the problem of population growth.

The population growth, he said prevented appreciable improvement in the living standards of the people.

Mr. Chaudhari, who was presiding over the seventh meeting of the State Family Planning Board here, said that this programme might involve an expenditure of Rs. 30 crores during the ten-year period.

The plan would envisage greater emphasis on sterilisation, fixing of targets to be achieved in each district and the creation of incentives among the people through education.

He added that at the present rate of population growth, the total population in the State would be 488 lakhs by 1971 (as compared with 395 lakhs in 1961).

By 1981 it would have reached the 600-lakhs mark.

The ten-year family planning programme, he emphasised aimed at reducing the rate of growth by 50 per cent.

LIBERTARIAN SOCIAL INSTITUTE BANGALORE.

BANGALORE, April 13: Mr. V. K. Narasimhan addressed the Study circle Meeting on "National Emergency." Prof. M. A. Venkata Rao presided.

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by

Ralph Borsodi

Ralph Borsodi, a former Chancellor of the University of Melbourne, Florida makes a penetrating study of the conflicting ideas and ideals in this book. The author maintains in this book that the decision that Asia will make between the Free world and the Communist world will decide the political future of mankind. In our present crisis arising out of war with Red China, this book should make interesting reading.

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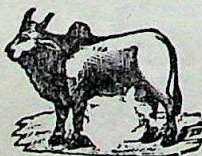
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the society which we are trying to build for national planning. Then only will proper time to reconsider the advisability of replacing English by one of these languages—not necessarily by Hindi for the reasons stated above—as the official language at the national and the language of instruction at the tertiary stage.

meanwhile the only rational and plausible solution of the problem seems to be: Bilingualism in the States with English as an inter-regional 'link' language and unilingualism at the Centre with English as the national language and the sole medium of education throughout India. It is our leaders learnt to think straight and

command in the Lower House will confer on President Nasser a commanding position in this new Republic. Cairo will be the capital and it is to be noted that foreign affairs, defence, education, currency trade and communication will be federal subjects.

The Constitution envisaged by the manifesto so ringingly proclaimed by the Arab leaders of the three countries, is not calculated to enthuse the democrats of the world, though as a matter of formality, the heads of the Western States might welcome the emergence of this new Arabic State. But conscientious democrats will have certainly much to say against Islam being declared a State religion even in this mid-twentieth century which reduces the 'freedom of conscience and worship' of the minorities to a nullity.

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IN THIS ISSUE

	Page
EDITORIAL:	
English Is Inevitable	2
The Corruption of Moral Ideals By M. A. Venkata Rao	5
Curtain Call at Pommapur By J. M. Lobo Prabhu	7
A. I. C. C. At Sea By M. N. Tholal	9
Socialism, A Barren System By Leonard E. Read	12
Book Review	14
Gleanings From The Press	14
News and Views	14

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ship of Gandhiji. Hindi belongs to this category of Gandhian fads such as Charka and Khadi, which are still sitting like a dead and heavy weight on India's material and spiritual progress. It is therefore not enough merely to try to get an equal status for English and Hindi as official languages. The enlightened public opinion of India must now take the offensive and mount a forceful and concentrated attack on any attempt on the part of the Government to uncrown English and upgrade Hindi as the Union Official Language, as proposed in the Official Languages Bill. Bi-lingualism at the Union level with English relegated to a subordinate position will, if at all, aggravate rather than cure the disease of linguism which is so deeply corroding into our national life and almost paralysing it.

Not One But Fourteen National Languages

That Hindi is or could be the sole National Language of India is no more than a myth sedulously fostered by the Hindi fanatics. Hindi is merely a regional language spoken by some forty per cent of the population of India, mostly concentrated in the northern provinces. Moreover the percentage of literacy of these Hindi-speaking regions is the lowest in India and very few people out of this forty per cent can read and write it. It would be therefore not surprising if it were to be found on careful investigation and study, that the number of the people who can read and write English in India is greater than those who are fairly acquainted with Hindi. It is therefore very difficult to see what special advantage would accrue to the common people of India by replacing English by Hindi and how the introduction of Hindi as an official language would democratise the administration of the country as claimed by the Hindi enthusiasts. Moreover it could not be said of Hindi with any ring of conviction that it has even developed to the stage reached by many other competent Indian languages like Bengali, Tamil, Marathi, Gujarati and others. Under these circumstances, it would be absolutely unfair and unjust to the non-Hindi group of languages, to accord Hindi a privileged position as a federal language neglecting the superior claims of these other

THE CHALLENGE OF ASIA

by

Ralph Borsodi

ng politi-
he Centre

Ralph Borsodi, a former Chancellor of regional University of Melbourne, Florida makes a National ing study of the conflicting ideas and ide and, has as book. The author maintains in this boo es widely decision that Asia will make between the nd on an and the Communist worldwelding of Hindi language as the official language, will not be calculated to allay the legitimate fears and apprehensions of non-Hindi people that the Hindi-walas entertain the sinister intention to monopolise Central services and political power and thus, reduce the non-Hindi people to the status of inferior citizenship.

It seems therefore inevitable that the neutral English language which admittedly scores over all our regional languages in vocabulary both scientific and literary, and practical utility, should continue to serve as the sole All India Language as it has been doing so well over a century, in the interest of harmony, goodwill and amity among the various linguistic groups of the Indian Union.

Withdraw the Bill and Continue the Status Quo

This language issue has been with us for too long a time. It has almost divided India into two broad linguistic divisions, the Hindi and non-Hindi. Each one of these groups loves its respective mother-tongue more than any other, the only difference in the case of Hindi group being that it is now fired with the ambition of imposing Hindi on non-Hindi groups as a compulsory Official Language whether the latter will it or not. The Southerners and Bengali people are in no mood to submit to this dictation from the North, as evidenced from the plethora of denunciatory statements that have been issued by non-Hindi members of the Parliament and other leading public men of the South and the East. Shri Rajagopalachari the veteran patriot has rightly knocked the bottom out of the Hindi myth by declaring that Hindi is not 'inevitable'. We would go further and say that under the linguistic situation obtaining in India, for another twenty-five years English is indispensable at the Centre and in all High Courts and Universities. Let Hindi and other equally competent national languages have full play and free scope during this period in the primary and secondary schools and offices and courts of the respective States. Let them be given a fair opportunity of registering a satisfactory progress in the matter of meeting the language needs of a modern industrial and

progressive society which we are trying to build through our national planning. Then only will come the proper time to reconsider the advisability if at all, of replacing English by one of these national languages—not necessarily by Hindi for reasons stated above—as the official language at the Centre and the language of instruction at the University stage.

In the meanwhile the only rational and plausible solution of the problem seems to be: Bilingualism in the States with English as an associate and inter-regional 'link' language and unilingualism at the Centre with English as the sole federal language and the sole medium of University education throughout India. It is high time our leaders learnt to think straight and act swiftly, if the alarming linguistic situation in the country is not to further deteriorate. Especially after the ugly scenes witnessed in the Parliament on the introduction of the Languages Bill, Mr. Nehru had better advise the Home Minister to withdraw the Bill with a promise to continue the present status quo for another twenty-five years as the present time is not yet propitious for effecting the language reform. Even the Constitution may be suitably amended if need be, in order to stop the linguistic rot that has set in, in the wake of Hindi intransigence.

* * *

ASIAN TREND TOWARDS 'CENTRALISM'

It was Lenin who familiarised the world with the phrase 'Democratic Centralism.' He said that the Soviet State and the Communist Party were both founded on democratic centralism. This phrase was coined by the Communists to confuse and confound critics who said that Russian Revolution did not expand and enlarge democratic freedom as promised by Marx but in fact scuttled it under Proletarian dictatorship. The Arab world under the leadership of Nasser the Socialist Dictator of Egypt seems to have taken a cue from this Red verbal jugglery. The three States of Egypt, Syria and Iraq are reported to have come together under a so-called United Arabic Republic, whose destinies will be guided by only one party 'The United Front' embracing all the three different States. President Nasser will be, of course, 'elected' the President of this federal Republic and armed as he will be with sweeping powers to appoint and dismiss Ministers, dissolve the Federal and regional legislature, veto laws, issue decrees and make major appointments in the army and in administrative and judicial departments, he will hold unchallenged sway over the domestic and foreign policies of the Republic. A democratic tinge has been sought to be given to this totalitarian pattern by the proposed two Federal Houses, the Upper and the Lower. All the three States will have equal representation in the Upper House while in the Lower House they will be represented under the proportional representative system. The sure election of Nasser as the President, and the majority which Egyptians will

command in the Lower House will confer on President Nasser a commanding position in this new Republic. Cairo will be the capital and it is to be noted that foreign affairs, defence, education, currency trade and communication will be federal subjects.

The Constitution envisaged by the manifesto so ringingly proclaimed by the Arab leaders of the three countries, is not calculated to enthuse the democrats of the world, though as a matter of formality, the heads of the Western States might welcome the emergence of this new Arabic State. But conscientious democrats will have certainly much to say against Islam being declared a State religion even in this mid-twentieth century which reduces the 'freedom of conscience and worship' of the minorities to a nullity, particularly when the State is not founded upon the civil and democratic rights of the people. So also the banning of all political parties except 'The United Front' should come as a disappointment to all those who value freedom of combination and association and of opinion and self-expression as being of the essence of democratic freedom.

This One Party Rule under the dictatorship of Nasser in this new State will have to be watched with the greatest anxiety and attention by the world democrats. Experience has shown that in the newly emerging independent countries of backward Asia and Africa, democracy becomes the first casualty in the din and the dust raised

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Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eSangam of his firm determination to
 constantly by politically ambitious leaders in
 the name of 'Nationalism' and 'Socialism'. Arab
 Nationalism appears to be a hot-house growth,
 having sprung not out of 'a consciousness of
 kind' binding together all the component parts
 of the new Arab Republic but out of a peculiar
 Arab brand of Socialist Statism imposed upon
 the people by Nasser and his confreres who are
 mostly army-men. This is a case in which 'Nationalism
 is not the cause but the result of the
 State.' (Rudolf Rocker in 'Nationalism and Culture').

India, Malaya, Japan and Israel still remain
 as the outposts of Asian democracy in this welter
 of resurgent totalitarianism which is fast spreading
 its tentacles in Asia from China, Burma and
 Indonesia in the East to Pakistan and Arab
 States in the West. And it may be pointed out
 that exactly these totalitarian States want India
 to be strictly non-aligned, especially with Western
 democracies even in an emergency. India
 will therefore do well to learn a lesson from this
 Asian trend and revise her ideas of Socialism
 and Nationalism, if she sincerely wishes to
 escape this totalitarian avalanche sweeping all
 over Asia and preserve her free way of life.

POLITICS OF A 'MAYAWADIN'

Prime Minister Nehru's complacency regarding
 the Sino-Indian conflict is simply
 amazing and takes one's breath away. It was
 not very long ago that Nehru told the country
 that anything might happen at any time on the
 Sino-Indian border and people should be ready
 to face the Chinese challenge boldly. But his
 'special' knowledge of the currents and cross-
 currents of world politics or better still of the
 working of the Communist minds of Khrushchev
 and Mao, must have again brought about a volte
 face in his thinking. The other day he said in
 the Parliament that it would require a lengthy
 lecture to elucidate his view-point that, despite
 the concentration of Chinese troops on Sikkim-
 Tibet border and the mysterious sighting of
 some foreign vessels suspected to be Chinese
 near-about Andhra coast, China was not likely
 to invade India again.

Whatever might be Nehru's superior wisdom
 in making these contradictory statements, the
 common man of India could not but conclude
 that these politics of 'Mayawad' (politics of nega-
 tion) of Mr. Nehru are only a continuation of
 the naive policies of our ex-Defence Minister
 Mr. Krishna Menon who also could never imagine
 that China a Communist country would
 ever invade India. He would like to remind Mr.
 Nehru once again of the shameful defeat India
 sustained in NEFA battles in last October in
 consequence of such defence policies. The recent
 reports from the Sikkim border and from the
 Indian waters near Andhra State present to the
 country hard and brutal facts which could not be
 slightly brushed aside and negated by our illusions
 and dreams' without endangering the
 security and safety of India.

Or may it be that Mr. Nehru's present com-

placed, and even of his firm determination to
 keep this India-China border question hanging
 fire for years together as in the case of Kashmir,
 by referring it to arbitration or to the Hague
 Court for which course of action he has now
 secured the full consent and sanction of his own
 party, if not of the country?

THE RUSSELL WAY TO WORLD PEACE

The Grand Old Philosopher Bertrand Russell
 has been once again at his pet game of commun-
 ist-boosting and democracy-baiting. The light
 has suddenly dawned on him now that the world
 has been saved for peace and from nuclear holo-
 caust by Mr. K. of Russia dismantling his rocket
 bases in Cuba and also by Mr. Chou's unilateral
 declaration of cease-fire at NEFA. In his latest
 book 'Unarmed Victory' he has revealed this
 latest discovery he has made in the realm of
 War and Peace and has paid handsome compli-
 ments to these two world heroes for their gene-
 rosity and peacefulness.

Uptil now the democratic world attributed
 Mr. Russell's peace antics to his nervous anxiety
 and concern for the future of humanity. But
 this latest exploit beats all his record and
 exposes him in his true colours as a fellow-travel-
 ler who believes with Lenin that whatever helps
 the advance and progress of communism in the
 world is just and moral and whatever hinders
 and retards it is unfair and immoral. Russell's
 way to peace thus lies through the purgatory of
 communism.

Otherwise how could he bring himself to
 describe K. as a peacemaker when the world
 knows that he wanted to blast peace in the Ame-
 rican hemisphere by planting his rocket bases in
 Cuba which he was forced to dismantle by Mr.
 Kennedy by a show of democratic strength?
 How could also he describe Mr. Chou as a man
 of peace when he first started the war on India
 and occupied unauthorisedly the NEFA terri-
 tory by force and only declared 'cease-fire' when
 he found that he had overplayed his part from a
 military point of view and when the 'cease-fire'
 terms themselves dictate a unilateral peace to
 India favouring China at the point of the bayo-
 net?

It is no use labouring the point and arguing
 with a man who has grown old and senile. As
 the Sanskrit saying goes, 'Old men should not be
 taken too seriously.'

—D. M. Kulkarni.

FOOD FOR THOUGHT

'I do not fear the Atomic Bomb. If there is a
 threat to our civilisation, it is more likely to
 come from boredom that will result from a totali-
 tarian welfare State and from the exclusion of
 individual enterprise.'

—Bernard Berenson.

'When any commodity is carried to market,
 it is not the necessity of the vendor but the ne-
 cessity of the purchaser that determines the
 price.'

—Edmund Burke.

THE CORRUPTION OF MORAL IDEALS

M. A. VENKATA RAO

When a minister imagines that he has cleared himself of the charge of having taken lakhs of rupees from a commercial firm, simply by saying unabashedly that he had done so for the Party Fund and when the Prime Minister, instead of subjecting such ministers to legal process, coolly and lightheartedly asserts that embezzlement really consists in the 'disgruntled' critics calling this misdeed a 'scandal', they are corrupting the moral ideal itself and blunting social conscience. Socialism has thus become a means for the perpetuation of party-power through corruption. The writer therefore pleads for revising our traditional morality in terms of rational thought and conduct.

If the salt loseth its savour, wherewith will it be salted? More dangerous than particular lapses from moral standards, (especially in those in political authority), is the attempted defence of their misconduct through sophistry. There is abundant material for the moralist, satirist and psychologist as well as for the rational social reformer in current disclosures of the misdeeds of those in positions of prestige and influence.

Such attempts to make light of serious moral offences, to whitewash them, hush them up and hide them from public view has been one of the most disturbing defects of the leaders who have come to power with the advent of independence.

This trait of theirs has of course much wider roots in social history but today in the process of running a fully sovereign, self-governing democracy with equal status and power in the comity of nations, the weakness is having grave and far-reaching ramifications that threaten the success of the democratic experiment as well as making the career of national independence itself one of hazard beyond our capacity to digest.

When a minister accused of taking lakhs of rupees from a commercial firm coolly says that it was for the sake of the party fund and thereby imagines that he has cleared himself of the moral taint imputed to him by the alleged misdeed, he is going beyond committing evil. He is **corrupting the moral ideal itself**, its image in his own and other people's mind and imagination.

When the prime minister of a democratic country refuses to subject serious charges of financial malpractice to the tune of crores against his favourite ministers (old cronies of pre-independence days) to legal progress and has the lightheartedness to pun on the word 'scandal' and to assert brazenly that the alleged embezzlement was not the true scandal but that it consisted in **calling it a scandal** by disgruntled critics, he is blunting the edge of the moral and social conscience in the nation and the electorate.

In the first days of independence in 1947, people were shocked and startled when they heard that the ruling party had started demand-

ing contributions from sugar and textile mills pro rata per unit of machinery. But as days wore on, such practice became the accepted custom of raising party funds.

The vast patronage extending to the disbursement of hundreds of crores of rupees every year in town and country under various trends, routine and extra routine, administrative and welfare departments, most of which went to party supporters at all levels now scarcely raises a murmur of protest nor any gesture of justification. Socialism has become just a means for the perpetuation of party power!

Discount with the ruling party, its leadership and their stewardship of the nation's affairs, including its security and defence, is well-nigh universal. But every by-election tells a uniform and depressing tale of thumping Congress success! Witness this month's five elections in Calcutta, a hotbed of disaffection against Congress from Gandhi's days though it has been!

Even according to permissible expenses, a total of some Rs. 15 crores for all the seats would have to be spent by a party contesting all seats. But it is estimated that over Rs. 60 crores have been spent during the last elections by the ruling party. No other party can even approach it in its capacity for raising funds because of its vantage position in the seats of administration. For instance, it was openly charged by many in press, platform and the legislature in Madras on the eve of the last general elections that bus owners had been asked to contribute Rs. 1,000 per bus to the ruling party's coffers! It was not denied.

Though commercial and industrial magnates as well as small independent traders and business men stand to lose **all** under the present policy of expanding socialism (or state monopoly of economic power), they are intimidated directly or indirectly into paying through the nose, for fear of losing heavily in the **immediate present**.

What is corrupting in these practices is the unabashed and unashamed manner in which they continue, in utter indifference to and contempt of public criticism and the outrage of social conscience.

In this exalted endeavour of rebuilding morale, rational **reflection** and creative thinking

on the foundation of morality and conscience, social and individual are absolutely necessary. There is little sign of such a renaissance of thinking in the post-independent generation, leaders or private persons.

In this critical context, it is illuminating to turn to great thinkers like Plato for guidance.

Plato astonished his contemporaries and succeeding generations of scholars and readers by his wholesale rejection of Homer as the medium of instruction, text of morality and mirror of moral exemplars to the Greeks. Homer was famed already in the fifth century B.C. as the teacher of Hellas, **par excellence**. He presented ideal types of heroes and gods to the imagination of Greeks which moulded education and conduct for young and old for centuries.

But Plato raised the question of the morality of many of the episodes in Homer's epic and challenged their purity and suitability to portray ideals for the exaltation of human nature.

He admitted the entrancing poetic quality of Homer's stanzas and the value of many wise sayings that crystallised the best conscience and experience of the Greek race. But in many other respects, he dared to point out that Homer gave too many instances that are sure to have a

corrupting influence!

He referred to the incident of Zeus himself being seized with ungovernable lust for Hera, his wife whom He throws incontinently to the ground before others for intercourse! He gives instances of the jealousy and rivalry of the Olympian gods and goddesses who take sides in human wars and rivalries, **not on merits** but as instruments of their own revenge or favouritism! Homer has no clear image of the steadfast wisdom and justice of the gods. Plato suggests therefore that educators in his ideal republic should represent divine as **One** and **unchanging** in its nature and always absolutely **just** and impartial.

The prestige of Homer as a great poet, Plato thinks, is being misused to lend prestige to the evil suggestions conveyed by the wicked doings of gods and heroes. And since poetry has a charming effect on the emotional imagination, it will influence the heart in a bad way by investing evil with radiant beauty and attractiveness. This blinds the moral conscience instead of purifying it.

He therefore suggests boldly that Homer should be **banned** from the schools in his Ideal Republic!

His point is that moral **ideals** themselves should not be corrupted by irrelevant admiration for other attractions.

We have a similar problem with us today. Europe faced this crisis in values several times—in the renaissance and in the reformation and in the French enlightenment or rationalism and

the mid-nineteenth century evolutionary materialism. Psychoanalysis and Psychiatry have added their own quota to the unsettling effects of the new thought on the role of emotions and instincts on culture, national character and the stream of ideas and ideals current in the social mind.

We have stirrings similar to these amidst us today. But they are not taking systematic independent forms. They are presenting themselves in negative forms of revolt and sweeping destruction. But reflection on **fundamentals** is urgent and necessary for the needed renovation of life and character to start and make headway.

We have to review the entire past culture of the country from the standpoint of moral conscience and rationality.

We have a plethora of material to use.

For instance, in the Sanskrit play of **Naganada** written by the emperor Sri Harsha (who reigned at Kanauj in the first part of the seventh century A.D.), we have the hero Jeemutavahana, the king of the Vidyadharas and emperor to be by grace of the goddess, Gauri, coolly ignoring the threat of Martanda a neighbouring king to invade the country!

He is more concerned with the Buddhist ideal of extinction of egoism, of nirvana. He is inspired by the bodhisattva ideal of offering his body as food for other creatures. But his duty as king to **live** for his people, to look after their welfare including security does not appeal to him. He surrenders royal power to ministers in order to look after his aged parents himself who have retired to the forest. This is no doubt a value but it should not eclipse his duty to his people which is his royal or political dharma, the duty of his station in life. The drama has a number of stanzas exalting surrender of life and offer of one's body for vultures, etc.

He is hailed as a moral hero, dharma veera. But this is surely a corruption of moral ideals. When the enemy is at the door the first duty of the ruler is to arrange night and day defence.

There are other instances in actual history of buddhist moralists preaching absolute non-violence and **welcoming the Huna invaders** rather than preaching resistance!

No wonder that centuries of such corrupt teaching that confuses flight from life's obligations out of world weariness and feebleness of heart (**hridaya dourbalya** as Krishna calls it in the Gita) with virtue produced the state of society in which Muslim looters like Ghazni and Ghorri could have their fill of plunder and later small companies of horsemen, (one hundred) could conquer whole kingdoms and hold them for centuries!

For the roots of strength had been undermined by a philosophy of decadence encouraging

(Continued on Page 8)

CURTAIN CALL AT POMPAPUR

By J. M. LOBO PRABHU

"The Republic of Pompapur", which in the most amusing way showed how Congress confused pomp with power, words with work, is no longer available with booksellers as probably the Congress bought and destroyed the unsold copies. The A. I. C. C. Session however raises the curtain on a pomposity of words, so empty of reason and so contrary to facts, that one is not sure whether clowns or children were holding the stage. The A. I. C. C. Session which in devious ways is paid for from the taxes of the people, cannot do much good even to the Congress, first, when discussion in it is limited only to supporting existing policies, second those who differ are threatened with action, third, when criticism of other parties is not even considered for such refutation as is possible. In any case, a Session open to the Press can only be the stage performance of an actor in a scene of seduction in which the lady is his own old wife. Good acting!

Morarji's praise of Nehru reminded me of Deputy Collectors when they came to me for some favours. He said India was for peace which sounded like the explanation of an Irishman that because he believed in Peace he knocked out his opponent. He maintained that China had betrayed our confidence without realising that our leaders, ambassadors and Secret Service must be blamed and punished for misplacing that confidence. Peace has been defined as a period of cheating between two wars and those who allowed us to be cheated, do not deserve credit.

Hanumanthayya has the courage to represent the voiceless section of the Congress which cannot understand how non-alignment is a triumph when it attracted the attack of the Chinese. The question which he pertinently raised that China did not attack Pakistan and Taiwan because of their alignment, could not be answered by anyone who therefore resorted to attacking him. When a whole party can ignore simple logic, it can only mean that it has ceased either to think or to care if others think. The many who attacked Hanumanthayya and opposed alignment, probably have never asked themselves if the aid we have received from democratic countries is not an act of alignment. The four MIGs and the factory for them is on the other hand a manifestation of non-alignment because they are of no use till our war with China is over. The Russians remind one of a man, who when asked why he did not stop two people who were hitting each other with chairs, replied that he did not want to break his own chair.

Probably imitating Nehru, whom he is hoping to succeed, Patnaik rode a high horse, with

statements which were mutually contradictory. He said he was for non-alignment but he wanted help from other countries if it did not mean flying "into their laps and going to sleep." Exactly why other countries should give us crores worth of help if we continue to behave superciliously with them, did not strike him. All the statements made at the A.I.C.C. will be used by Americans, opposed to us, to reduce the foreign aid now under discussion, which means that Patnaik and the Congress are throwing away the defence available to the country. He said that he disclosed the strength of our army to frighten the enemy but added that he would disclose our weakness to our people so that they may contribute more. He expects the enemy to hear only what frightens it. Threatening Hanumanthayya, he added that there are many in the Congress for personal benefits. If so, he should have cleared himself of charges made in the Parliament that his Airline misappropriated supplies for NEFA, that he misused his licence to make 50 lakhs by the sale of zinc tubes, that he is involved in the Sirajjudin case. If he is living in a glass house, mere bluster will not save him from stones which will be thrown back.

Nanda's was the most pitiful performance. When faced by various speakers including Ministers with the failure of planning and the misuse of Community Projects, he blamed the Agriculture Ministry and the States. If as Planning Minister he cannot control his own work, he should make way for some one who can do so or press that Planning should be given up. He complained there were divisions in the administration, the Congress Party and even in the ministries. He forgot he himself started the Socialist Forum in the Congress, the first formal division of the Congress Party. A little story will do him good. When a husband proposed that the tenth anniversary of their wedding may be celebrated with a duck for dinner, the wife inquired why a duck should be killed for what happened ten years ago.

Nehru's contribution was to declare that attacks of corruption on Ministers were bogus and personal attacks on ministers were not **bonafide**. No one cares if Malaviya eats kangaroos but if he swallows money, the attack on him is not in his personal but public capacity. Nehru spread his umbrella over Menon when he was betraying the country to the communist, but if he continues spreading it over Ministers openly accused of corruption, he may convince the country that it must replace him if there is to be any change for the better. When a man was arguing for polygamy he was told that the law knew better what one wife meant, and had to protect him from too many of them. Nehru

had better look after himself before he protects those who must defend themselves.

The Conference missed the opportunity to answer the charges which were made on the same day in Parliament by Frank Anthony that Nehru and Menon by their interference were responsible for the defeat of our armies, by Nath Pai that "groupism and favouritism" in the army had lowered its morale and that the communists in and outside the Congress, were driving Nehru to make statements which will forfeit foreign assistance. Even if the Congress is wonderful, it cannot claim the right to throw away assistance the country can receive from others.

(Continued from Page 6)

ing shirking and softness and withdrawal into the shell of individual egoism. Sanyas and moksha became exclusive social ideals. Other worldliness ruled supreme in the intellectual and moral realms which left this world to the tender mercies of the aggressor, the beast of prey who was closer to nature.

Moral philosophy should construct an ideal of life that should help us how to make the best of life, harmonising **all values** and not deny them altogether (neti, neti, negation) and shrinking from hardness.

We should, like Plato, have the courage and honesty to revise our traditional ideals in terms of reason.

We need not for instance defend the conduct of Sri Rama in sending Sita in pregnant condition to the forest just to please unthinking ignoramus like a washerman critic. Moreover, even if he wanted to abandon her, why should the poor innocent lady be sent to the forest and left there alone? She could have been left in a house in the capital city?

Also it is not necessary to defend Sri Rama in his treacherous action in killing Vali by shooting at him from behind a tree all unknown to him. This is unwarrior-like and indefensible. A vedantist defends this action as being motivated by the fear that if he challenged him in open fight, Vali **might** surrender and it would then become his duty as a kshatriya to save one who surrenders! And he had promised Vibhishana to kill Vali beforehand; This is to defend one wrong by another!

The right procedure is to admit the wrong done to Vali by Rama as part of his diplomacy. It was the price he had to pay for the friendship and help of Vibhishana and his hosts in invading Lanka. The end justifies the means, **if the end is good and necessary.**

These are only instances.

It is high time that a thorough spring cleaning of traditional morality is undertaken and new rational ideals of conduct and types of character, national and individual, are constructed as part of nation-building in the era of independence.

THE MIRAGE OF COMMUNIST RIFT

"The dream of a communist rift is another mirage towards which romantic eyes are directed from New Delhi. Khrushchev has spoken out pretty decisively that this rift is not going to be. As two are needed for any quarrel, without his participation there can be no real battle in communist camp, even if that possibility be at all relevant for the Sino-Indian problem. Nor are the recent difficulties of Western Powers and their mutual differences of any use or consequence for us, however interesting they may be to the international observer. Other people's difficulties may be a kind of vulgar consolation for those who are in trouble, but such satisfaction is neither noble nor wise, nor at all helpful in the direction of easing our problems. Our road is plainly indicated. The way down to Peking is easy as it slopes down, but it leads to peril and dishonour."

—C. Rajagopalachari.

'Hindi is not inevitable', Says C. R.

Madras, April 16—In an exclusive interview on the Languages Bill, Mr. C. Rajagopalachari told the Hindustan Times: "I see no good in arguing with a public and a leadership that wish by hook or crook their mothertongue to become the official language of administration all over India and the medium of study and of examinations so that the entire administrative machinery may in due course of time become their instrument for fully achieving their purpose."

"I entirely agree with Mr. Frank Anthony in what he told Parliament."

"We must give up the notion that Hindi is inevitable and unite all our efforts to oppose and resist injustice. If we admit the ultimate inevitability we have necessarily to admit immediate steps for gradually reaching the goal as quite justifiable."

"We should not, therefore, presume that it is inevitable. If we allow that we stand defeated even now."

"If the Prime Minister and his Government weakly yield to folly and demagogic pressure they would be abetting disintegration of India and splitting of our motherland into Hindi and non-Hindi. The neutral and international medium of English will alone sustain and nourish unity, enlightenment and peace."

A. I. C. C. AT SEA

(By M. N. THOLAL)

OPENING the session of the All-India Congress Committee, the Congress President, D. Sanjivayya, reaffirmed the determination of the people to recover "every inch of territory illegally occupied by Chinese aggressors". He said there could be no surrender to aggression and the Chinese invaders had to be driven out from our sacred soil. What some far-sighted people are worried about is not the determination of the people but the determination of the Government, as evidenced by the measures it is adopting to recover "every inch of our territory". For, it is the determination of the Government that really matters and not the determination of an ignorant people who are easily misled. Had the determination of the people been the decisive factor, the Chinese would not have succeeded in their October invasion.

An appeal for unity is all right, even though unnecessary, for barring some Communists there is unity in the land against the Chinese. But the Congress President in appealing for unity struck a discordant note. "Unfortunately", he said, "I have come across certain Congressmen who have not completely expressed themselves in favour of certain fundamental policies of the Congress, and whose behaviour is such that would not enhance the prestige and honour of the Congress." And he threateningly added, "We have taken serious notice of this." Apparently the prestige and honour of the Congress is dearer to him than the prestige and honour of the country, for the sake of which certain Congressmen have failed miserably. Surely those fundamental policies of the Congress do not constitute its creed that the Congress President should dictator-like threaten those who differ from them?

It is a sad commentary on the patriotism and rectitude of Congressmen that they do not have the courage to speak out boldly what is in their hearts, for fear of offending the Leader. It is a continuation of the Gandhian era which led to the division of the country, and makes one seriously doubt the capacity of the Congress to face up to the task of confronting it. Indeed, except for Mr. Hanumanthiya's contribution, the whole debate was unrealistic and hollow in the extreme and it seemed as if the debaters had been set their tasks—in any case they knew what their role was—and they did what they could to the best of their poor ability, without their hearts or even their minds in it.

Mr. Morarji Desai said the Chinese perhaps thought that since India was wedded to peace and non-violence, it would never try to meet aggression by force and that they would be able to get away with what they desired. Surely the

Chinese knew what happened in Kashmir when we gained our independence. Surely they had heard of Goa also, proof positive of our non-violence. Instead of thus bamboozling his audience he would have been nearer the mark if he had said the Chinese knew the state of our unpreparedness to face a massive invasion, even though we knew the Chinese were massing their forces on our border. Of course he could not say that, because it would have been an indirect condemnation of our policy of non-alignment as well as of the Government, of which he is such a shining light, responsible for the unpreparedness.

As if he had that guilty idea in mind, he said, "We are going to make our armed forces fully capable of throwing out the aggressor from our territory." That is the crux of the question: whether within the time at our disposal or the period he envisages, our armed forces will be able to throw out the aggressor from our territory. For, the aggressor also, according to the Prime Minister's own version, is strengthening his position by further massing of troops on our borders. We should not talk as if the Chinese had gone to sleep after the October-November invasion, but yet such silly unpatriotic talk, implicit in our talk of strengthening our armed forces, is absolutely necessary to bolster up the tottering non-alignment, and that is why it is being indulged in by almost all Congress leaders.

"Non-Alignment Cannot Fail"

The strength of the Chinese Army is no secret and to face that stern reality cannot by any means be described as spoiling the morale of the country or its armed forces. On the other hand, to accept Mr. Desai's resolve and its ability to accomplish the task without massive external aid may well be called complacency, which brought about the October invasion. For nearly thirty years we heard that non-violence cannot fail and now for some years past we have in effect been hearing that non-alignment cannot fail. Even after non-violence failed successfully, we went on hearing from our great Leader, "Non-violence cannot fail". Similarly ever after non-alignment has failed, we go on hearing from our great Leader and his apparently devout followers that non-alignment cannot fail.

If non-alignment has not failed, why did it take such a long time for the AICC to meet after the October invasion? Was that invasion an insignificant event? Had the Congress President and Secretaries gone to sleep or were ordered sleep by the present Super-President of the Congress? (Nehru called Gandhi the Super-President of the Congress, and he is truly his successor). Were the Congress leaders afraid

that, if the session were held soon after the invasion, the failure of non-alignment would be too fresh in public memory for them to deny it even a semblance of plausibility? Was not the session postponed for such a long time in the interest of the policy of non-alignment—until in fact they came to the conclusion that the main lesson of the October invasion had been forgotten? Will it be treachery on the part of any one to say that the Chinese leaders are also, like Mr. Desai, saying among themselves that they are going to make armed forces fully capable of dealing with our increased strength on the border as they did with whatever there was of it in October last?

Coming from a region most likely to be affected, Mr. K. C. Pant on the same day in Parliament said the people in the U. P. hill districts "living directly under the snout of the Chinese dragon" naturally felt concerned over the reported massing of Chinese troops barely four miles beyond the border. The thickly populated hill areas on the northern border must be defended effectively, he said, and India should hit the Chinese lines of communications in Tibet rather than abandon the Himalayas to them, should a situation arise when the choice lay between these two courses of action. Was not, Mr. Anthony asked in Parliament on the same day, the decision to deny even the minimum tactical air support to the troops in NEFA taken at the highest political level? Of course it was and for the best of reasons, and these reasons Mr. Pant entirely ignores when he says that India should hit the Chinese lines of communications in Tibet rather than abandon the Himalayas to them. And Mr. Pant has got to ignore them because he has made up his mind to support the policy of non-alignment which makes for our aerial weakness and disabled us from giving tactical air support to the troops in NEFA. Let us feel like our countrymen on the border. Let us put ourselves in their place and see what it feels like. Let us then put our hands and hearts and say, If we can, "Non-alignment is the best course for us." The trouble with us is that we do not feel for our own countrymen, that those of us who are at a distance from the border can talk of non-alignment with the assurance that by the time the Chinese reach our homes the American will be upon them. That is the extent of Congress patriotism indirectly and inadvertently unmasked by Mr. Pant.

The Question

It is true we are getting aid under non-alignment. We shall get more aid under it, but the question today is, not whether it will make our armed forces fully capable of throwing out the aggressor at some future date, as Mr. Desai put it, but whether it has made our armed forces fully capable of repelling invasion that may come at any time now. He will be a bold man who answers that question in the affirmative, and if the answer is in the negative, as it must

be, in view of our Prime Minister's request to the USA for air cover, then our non-alignment has been a failure. To hope that it may yet succeed is to put the nation's future in jeopardy and it is no part of wisdom to take chances with a country's security. There should be no element of doubt where our security is concerned. All that is being said is that we are better prepared. That "better" may not be enough to prevent the Chinese advance. It obviously is not, otherwise something more satisfactory would have been claimed than "better" preparation. It reminds me of a fellow-student who was always better prepared for the forthcoming examination than he was for the last one in which he got plucked.

We should not be found napping again. We should not be found living in a world of our own creation, happy as that world for the moment seems. And yet, except in the speech of Mr. Hanumanthiya, there was at the AICC session no awareness in any one else's mind of the clear implications of non-alignment in the context of the expected Chinese invasion, or of our attempt, if and when it comes, to throw the Chinese out of our territory.

Mr. B. Patnaik, Chief Minister of Orissa, said he did not understand why it was necessary to reiterate the policy of non-alignment time and again when it had been clearly accepted by the Party and was understood by every Congressman. It is true that it has been clearly accepted by the Party but the reason for reiterating it obviously is that those who form the Party doubt the efficacy, as they did decades ago the efficacy of non-violence, for which reason Gandhi had to emphasise its efficacy every day. Mr. Patnaik said the country should be prepared to meet the Chinese challenge "even if there is no United States or no Soviet Union to help us, and even if we are to be occupied for a quarter of a century." That should be our approach, Mr. Patnaik frankly said. What makes him think the Soviet Union can help us against China? There, however, is where the difference lies. The average Indian, and even the average Congressman is not prepared to see the country occupied for a quarter of a century, a proposition admittedly implicit in non-alignment. Does he think India will be able to free herself after the Chinese occupation of the country for 25 years? For Mr. Patnaik and most Congressmen Mr. Nehru and his doctrines come first and the security of the country is something to be gambled with.

A common debating trick when reasons are lacking is to exaggerate beyond recognition the stand of the opponent and then ridicule it. Mr. Patnaik again carried away the palm when he said it was wrong to think that "at the first stress we fly into somebody's lap and then go to sleep". A wag would be inclined to retort "Fly into somebody's lap while you can," but Mr. Patnaik would apparently prefer to fly into somebody's lap after a quarter of a century's occupation of

the country by the Chinese. He might, like Mahatma Gandhi, have added, "Ultimately we shall emerge victorious. What are a few centuries in the cycle of time?" He seems in fact to be a serious rival to Jaya Prakash Narain, for he said, "We must have the guts and determination to remain free, otherwise, to use the least harsh words, we are not yet free and not fit to be free." These are words born of great expectations but here unwittingly he declares his complete agreement with the Chinese who want to liberate India. His was indeed an outspoken performance from a joyful, hopeful heart, but what makes one wonder is that all these fervent devotees of non-alignment did not even clap their hands to show the warmth of their attachment to non-alignment. That should induce one to think they are only paying lip service to the cause, lest they are found lagging behind in the race for favours from the Bestowers of ALI Gifts.

Congressmen should have an anthem of their own addressed to Nehru. It may be adapted from the British anthem:

Thy choicest gifts in store

On us be pleased to pour.

Long may you rule

On all those whom you fool.....

That the race is on is clear from what passed between Messrs. Desai and Jain. Mr. Ajit Prasad Jain said he was a little surprised to find that the mover of the resolution, Mr. Desai, had perhaps by chance forgotten to say anything about the reiteration of the policy of non-alignment made in the resolution. In the course of his reply to the debate Mr. Desai more than made up for the unpardonable lapse by declaring, "We cannot have unity even at the cost of non-alignment, as that unity will destroy the fabric of the country." This policy, he said, had been supported, strengthened and popularised by Mr. Nehru. "Let us thank him," he said, "that he has taken up this policy in a very bold way." (Cheers.)

Many indeed are the suppositions on which non-alignment is based. Seth Govind Das said if India gave up non-alignment, it would hasten a world war. One would have thought if India gave up non-alignment the Chinese would desist, as they desist from attacking small Taiwan and from occupying Quemoy and Matsu. If India joined the Western Bloc, he said Russia would completely side with China. What makes him think the present partnership is incomplete? China does not want soldiers and the rest is provided by Russia, including bombers and missiles and submarines. Their maps show the identity of purpose outlined by their Prophet Lenin in famous maxim, "the way to London lies through Peking and China". Congressmen, he said, must prepare the people for any sacrifice necessary for defending the country's honour and integrity—except perhaps the sacrifice of non-alignment which alone can defend the country's honour and integrity.

Tre Assam Chief Minister, Mr. B. P. Chaliha, did not want to be outdone by anybody. He said the Chinese aggression has given four new experiences to the country. One, a nation whom we thought to be our friend betrayed us, (The Swatantra Party deserved to be condemned for having warned us against that nation). Experience No. 2 is that we are not militarily strong enough to deal with such betrayal. No. 3—the policy of non-alignment which the country has been following is correct. Is it correct because we should not be militarily strong enough to deal with such betrayal? Experience No. 4—in order to be really strong we should accelerate not the military programme but the economic programme. So here we have the whole argument for non-alignment in a nut-shell; the Chinese betrayal and our inability to deal with that betrayal!

It is difficult to disagree with Mr. M. N. Bahuguna who said, "Non-alignment is something inherent in the genius of the country". Mr. Bahuguna was very modest about his country. Not non-alignment alone by everything that leads to the enslavement of the country is inherent in the genius of the country, particularly the Hindus. Is it for nothing that we hold the world's record in slavery—slavery of a thousand years which Attlee in a fit of sentimental generosity put an end to—despite the desire of the Father of the Nation to the contrary—in 1947? Our Prime Minister has boldly declared—all honour to him—that he would rather see the country overrun by the Chinese than give up non-alignment.

MR. NEHRU ALWAYS SHIELDS THOSE WHO BASK IN HIS FAVOUR

Speaking in the Lok Sabha on demands for grants for the Home Ministry, Mr. H. V. KAMATH, M.P., attacked the "somnolence, complacency and apathy" of Government; he also criticised the Government's misuse of emergency powers which, instead of serving to strengthen the nation, were being used to cover up the same "sloth, indolence and corruption" that had "tainted and stained its escutcheon in the days before the emergency".

Mr. Kamath also wanted to know why the administration was so eager to shield its personnel when they violated strict norms of behaviour.

He referred to an incident where material from the draft address of the President to the Parliament leaked out much before the scheduled date. Mr. Kamath alleged that a Cabinet Secretary, who addressed a meeting at the Institute of Public Administration on February 11, referred to the draft address of the President and said it was a secret document till the 18th February, when it would be delivered. Then the official, according to Mr. Kamath, quoted from the draft address to illustrate what he was saying.

Pointing out that the Prime Minister had shielded the Cabinet Secretary on this occasion, Mr. Kamath, said, "Mr. Nehru has been in the habit of doing this since Independence—shielding his favourites, his friends, those who bask in his favour right from the days of the Jeep Scandal."

SOCIALISM: A BARREN SYSTEM

By LEONARD E. READ

SOCIALISM depends upon and presupposes material achievements which socialism itself can never create. Socialism is operative only in wealth situations brought about by modes of production other than its own. Socialism takes and redistributes wealth, but it is utterly barren when it comes to producing wealth.¹

But first, let the terms of discourse be clarified. Socialism is state ownership and/or control of the means of production. And democratic socialism is no less socialism than the autocratic variety. Socialism is just as surely state ownership and/or control of the means of production when installed by majority vote as when installed by a dictator. Socialism doesn't give a hoot how it climbs into the political saddle.

Communism can be properly defined as the communalization by force of the product of all. Marx put it succinctly: "From each according to ability, to each according to need." There have been some 200 small-scale communistic experiments in this country, one of the first being the Plymouth Colony during its first three years. The production of every colonist was forcibly directed into a common warehouse and doled out by those in authority according to need. Free choice of what to do with the fruits of his own labor was denied the individual Pilgrim.

In what respect, then, do socialism and communism differ? As far as their mode of operation is concerned, not at all. Bear in mind that Khrushchev and party refer to themselves as "communists," but that they call their nation the "Union of Soviet Socialist Republics." They know full well, and we should know, that socializing the **means** of production and socializing the **results** of production are but two sides of the same coin, inseparable in practice. The state that controls production is going to control the distribution of what is produced; and the state that distributes the product must, eventually, control its production.

While there are meaningless differences in detail between fascism, communism, and socialism, we must conclude that they are of the same warp and woof as the welfare state, the planned economy, Fabianism Nazism, and state interventionism: the application of state force to both the **means** and the **results** of production. And insofar as the policies of the New Deal, the Fair Deal, the New Republicanism, and the New Frontier socialize, or forcibly communalize, or plan production and distribution, then, to that extent they, too, exemplify the same collectivist principle.

The Premise, in Two Parts

Now to return to my original assumption.

Socialism depends upon and presupposes material achievements which socialism itself can never create.

This accusation has two parts: (1) there has to be wealth before wealth can be socialized; and (2) socialism cannot create the wealth in the first place.

With everyone's wealth at zero, there is no one from whom anything can be taken. Many of our Pilgrim fathers starved during the first three years of community communism because there was so little in the warehouse to dole out. Communism, or one of our numerous names for the same thing, the welfare state, presupposes the existence of wealth which can be forcibly extorted. Is this not self-evident?

There remains, then, only to show that socialism—the planned economy—cannot give rise to the **means** of production; that is, state ownership and/or control of the means of production cannot create the wealth on which state welfare rests.

State Socialism

State socialism is authoritarianism; that is, it rests on coercive force. There is no socialistic act in this country, or in Russia, or anywhere else, that is not backed by the police power of the state. If anyone has any doubt about this, let him refuse to pay his share of subsidies to farmers, or of TVA deficits, or of our governmental gifts to other socialistic governments, or whatever. The penalty for noncompliance is severe, indeed. This, or the threat of it, is coercion, pure and unadulterated!

The idea I am trying to develop will not make sense to any person who does not fully grasp the fact that all state action rests on force or the threat of force. Coercion is government's essential and distinguishing ingredient. The distinction between you as an agent of government and you as a private citizen is that as an agent of government you have the constabulary back of you: issue an edict, and I obey or take the consequences. Lose the backing of the constabulary and you are restored to private citizenship: issue an edict, and it has no more force than a chamber of commerce resolution, and I do as I please.

Even if every citizen is in agreement with a particular law, the law still has the police force to support it. Government is law backed by force; this is government properly defined.

An Illusion of Productivity

Socialism, we must admit, gives the illusion of being productive. The productivity, however, exists in spite of socialism, not because of it.

The productivity originates in the free energy which ignores or escapes socialism's repression; that is, which oozes through or around socialism's smothering blanket. In England following the Napoleonic Wars, and in the United States under the NRA and the OPA, legal restrictions blanketed large areas of production and exchange. But note this: neither country's socialistic decrees were entirely obeyed. In each instance there were gross violations of socialism, with the result that the people managed to live. Such material well-being as there was appeared to come from socialism. It actually came, however, from free, creative energy which for obvious reasons, was more or less hidden and unpublicized.

Numerous other distractions help to hide socialism's essential sterility. For instance, we observe that many government schoolteachers act no less creatively than do teachers of private schools. Scientists in the employ of government have inventive experiences, as do independent scientists and those in corporate employ. TVA, a socialistic enterprise, produces electrical energy of the same quality as that from an investor-owned plant. Agents of the state and private citizens more or less look alike, dress alike, behave alike. We choose our friends as often from one set as from the other. Meeting a stranger, one could not tell to which category he belongs.

What Really Happens

If we would properly evaluate the effect of coercion, with its absolute absence of creativeness, we should have to disregard these distractions. We need to recognize that it is not the government schoolteacher who exercises the three types of coercion implicit in socialistic education: (1) compulsory attendance, (2) government-dictated curricula, and (3) the forcible collection of the wherewithal to pay the school bill. Furthermore, we rarely feel any coercions simply because we meekly obey the laws backed by force; that is, we **do** send our children to school, we **do not** prescribe our own curricula, we **do** pay the tax bill. But refuse to acquiesce in any one of these three phases of compulsion and see what happens!

The scientist employed by the state, trying to figure out how to put three men on the moon, exercises no coercion. The coercion is applied to the collection of the funds which pay him to work as a free agent. He will work just as freely, as creatively, regardless of how his salary is collected. A billion dollars, whether garnered at the point of a gun or voluntarily donated, is in either case a billion dollars. A dollar extorted or a dollar freely given is still a dollar, with a dollar's purchasing power.

In the absence of socialism's coercion, each dollar would be used in accord with its owner's choice, to buy food or clothing, to educate the children, to take a vacation, to buy a sailboat.

the free energy which ignores or escapes socialism's repression; that is, which oozes through or around socialism's smothering blanket. In England following the Napoleonic Wars, and in the United States under the NRA and the OPA, legal restrictions blanketed large areas of production and exchange. But note this: neither country's socialistic decrees were entirely obeyed. In each instance there were gross violations of socialism, with the result that the people managed to live. Such material well-being as there was appeared to come from socialism. It actually came, however, from free, creative energy which for obvious reasons, was more or less hidden and unpublicized.

the dollars from owner use and puts them to state use. If, as predicted, putting three men on the moon will cost \$20 billion to \$40 billion, then that much freedom of choice will be destroyed. This enormous portion of our productivity will be socialized. The people are coercively relieved of their individual choices in order to permit a single choice, exercised by whoever heads the socialistic régime. Authoritarianism is forcibly substituted for individual liberty. What we witness here is a diversionary process accomplished by police action.

The Forgotten Man

We will go astray in our analysis of this complex process unless we examine coercion at one of its points of impact—for instance, the impact on the citizens who are forced to foot the bills. Let's, then, ask ourselves this question: Is the extortion of your income (in order that another may have the say-so as to what it will be spent for) a creative act? Does it make any difference to what use the other will put it? Charity, relief, moon shots, or whatever? Does it make any real difference whether or not the other is a person or a collective? Is this extortion in itself creative? There is no rational, affirmative answer to these questions. Extortion—coercion—is destructive. **It destroys your freedom of choice!** Coercion, by its nature, is destructive.

Misdirection of Resources

We now come to the most important point in this thesis: True Mr. Big, or the head of any other socialist state can, with the money he has obtained by diverting funds from producers' use to his own use, induce creative action along the lines of his choice. But observe where this authoritarian process channels creative energies: **it puts genius at work on questionable if not downright evil ends!** Let us remember that not all genius is employed on the side of the angels. Is it not plain that creative energies can be turned to destructive ends? Do we need any more proof of this than the amazing ingenuity that has brought about the most destructive force ever devised by man? But putting aside the H-bomb, and such miraculous and fascinating follies as orbiting monkeys and men around our earth, reflect on the countless economy-destroying projects that result from man lording it over his fellow men.

I began this paper with the resolve to demonstrate that socialism depends upon and presupposes material achievements which socialism itself cannot create, that socialism is productively sterile. But after thinking it through, I must confess that my affirmation can be proven only to those persons who see the long-range effects of present actions.

—Condensed from **The Freeman**.

Book Review

Freedom and History by Professor H. D. Lewis, The University of London. George Allen and Unwin, London, Pages 334. 42s. 1962.

Professor Lewis is now the editor of the famous series of original philosophical works started over half a century ago under the name of The Library of Philosophy by the late Professor J. H. Muirhead who attained a leading position among idealist philosophers inheriting the mantle of Anglo-Hegelian (Graeco-Christian) tradition in European philosophy. The library now fitly bears his name in recognition of his long and devoted service to philosophy. Professor Lewis continues the catholic tradition of his predecessor.

The volume under review entitled *Freedom and History* consists of several essays, reviews and addresses of Professor Lewis published over several years and now brought together in one volume. They display a distinct unitary outlook and bear signs of being integral parts of a complete philosophy of human life from the standpoint of the highest values of culture and religion.

The bulk of them are concerned with the issue of freedom. They are weighted with informed anxiety for the future of Western civilisation (as such) vis-a-vis the challenge of communist totalitarianism to free nations and the free way of life everywhere. He is acutely aware of the overall drive of social and psychological forces in contemporary thought (in the sciences and the humanities) towards a mechanisation of outlook ignoring the note of inward freedom.

He devotes several chapters to the thought of T. H. Green and Rousseau to show how an inadequate individualism passes into a false collectivism in their thinking. The general will gets confused with collective herd consciousness in which individual thinking is lost. In one later chapter he reviews a book by Barbara Wootton which as usual in present thought over-stresses the role of the environment in the incidence of crime and minimises the element of individual responsibility and freedom. This, he thinks, is a characteristic defect of the modern temper, which is also typically exemplified by Marxism which issues in economic determinism. The experience of communist countries does not bear out this vision for even without the responsibility for making one's living on one's own and with a secure living provided by the State, we find juvenile delinquency becoming quite a problem and individual irresponsibility a fearful social puzzle, hundreds being executed every year for disregarding socialist property.

Christian theology emphasises the importance of history for the destiny of man, for God revealed Himself in a unique revelation and incarnation at a point of time and will reappear at a point of time to establish a kingdom of God on earth. This is supposed to give a social goal to history, a far-off divine event to which the whole creation moves. St. Augustine sketched a political theory of the City of God in this context. To this is affiliated a social hope of an "earthly paradise," a perfect society on earth in the future to be developed by the historical processes of nations, revolutions and evolutionary reforms. To promote this social end is good; to obstruct this is bad. Marxism has its own dialectical version of this social meliorism. Professor Lewis devotes several chapters to a consideration of the implications for freedom of a sane philosophy of history.

—M. A. Venkata Rao.

Gleanings from the Press

NEHRU'S SENSITIVENESS TO PARTYMEN'S WRONG-DOING WEARING AWAY

It is sad to note that the PM is now inclined to explain allegations based on documented evidence of corruption of Congress ministers as just another strategy of anti-Congress criticism. His sensitiveness to wrong-doing on the part of his partymen, as I observed with pain a couple of weeks ago, is wearing away. These gifts from managing agents of companies are not gifts but are the material gains of intimidation and illegal favours. In the simple terms of our old Penal Code these collections amount to criminal intimidation or bribery. The purpose for which the money obtained was to be used is irrelevant, be it election purposes or even the most saintly and pious causes conceivable. The crime which a person in authority, or in a position to use authority, commits by using or offering or threatening to use such authority in favour of or against a person in order to obtain a 'gift', be it for whatever purpose, is clearly defined in the Indian Penal Code. No learning or government rules are needed to supplement the provisions of this scientifically drafted code. That this crime was widely and openly practised makes no difference either. The authority given by Parliament to managing directors to give away company funds does not modify or mitigate the offence of the minister, or official, who presumably used his position of authority to get the custodians of the company's fund to part with it. A callus is developing rapidly which is fatal to good government and democracy.

That persons belonging to Opposition parties make a great noise about these things, only proves the public utility of Opposition parties. It does not make the acts less criminal. These donations obtained by the party in office make a tremendous block in the way of fair elections and converts democracy into a marionette of the Congress moneybag clientele.

—C. R. in 'SWARAJYA'

News & Views

KENNEDY SUGGESTS GREATER AID TO INDIA WASHINGTON.

President Kennedy asked Congress for 4,525 million dollars in foreign aid during the fiscal year beginning July next—596 million dollars more than the figure appropriated by Congress for the current year.

The President began his message with the famous quotation from Milton: "Peace hath her victories no less renowned than war," and said:

"No peacetime victory in history has been as far-reaching in its impact nor has served the cause of freedom so well as victories scored in the last 17 years by this nation's mutual defence and assistance programmes.

"These victories have been in the main quiet instead of dramatic. Their aim has been not to gain territories for the United States, for support in the United Nations, but to preserve freedom and hope and to prevent tyranny and subversion in dozens of key nations all over the world."

Mr. Kennedy noted the success of the United States aid efforts in Turkey and Greece in saving them respectively from "the Soviet external aggression and the Communist internal subversion" as also the success of threat made plain by the Chinese attack on India last fall may require additional efforts on our part to help bolster security of this crucial area."

MISSILES FOR BORDER, FILTERS IN PLAINS — WESTERN AID PLAN

The Hindustan Times Correspondent reports from Washington that a clearer picture is now available of the strategic framework within which Anglo-American assistance may be available for India's air defence.

The main guidelines are reported to have been approved by U.S. Defence Secretary McNamara and Britain's Defence Minister Peter Thorneycroft in London with details concerning the quantity and equipment to be negotiated in consultation with the Indian defence team arriving here on Monday.

Basically, the Anglo-American plan envisages different forms of protection for the belt of mountainous and sub-mountainous territory adjoining the Tibetan border and the rest of the country.

The strategic centres in the border zone would be guarded by ground-to-air missiles, whereas possible targets deeper in the plains would be under fighter cover.

The Western assistance would take the form of ground-to-air and air-to-air missiles, radar and communication equipment and to increasing the number rather than improving the type of aircraft in IAF service.

SUPER TAX IS EXTRA BURDEN SAYS LONDON TIMES

LONDON,

The Times today criticised India's new super profits tax as an additional burden.

It said the new burden was "bound to make foreign firms in India think twice before going ahead with any further expansion."

An editorial headed "Indian tax on efficiency" in this independent daily, said that company taxation in India was already at a high level.

Two particular parts of the budget of six weeks ago were causing concern in the business world—the super profits tax and the new restriction on the value of individual emoluments which could be set against company taxation.

OBJECTION

The Times objected that the new tax would fall most heavily on the most efficient firms and that it would particularly penalise new firms in the initial stages of growth—a time when they would normally want to retain a higher proportion of their earnings. The estates too would be badly hit, it added.

The newspaper said the need for the severity of the Indian budget was not in dispute. The cost of the defence effort against China had already opened a large gap between revenue and expenditure.

It said all sections of the community should be expected to share the extra burdens. But the Indian authorities would be well advised to consider whether the super profits tax proposals might not be against the longer term interests of the Indian economy, it added.

The paper pointed out: "If the extra defence effort is not to stultify the Third Five-Year Plan, dependence on foreign aid is bound to increase rather than diminish."

ANTHONY DENOUNCES LANGUAGES BILL

NEW DELHI, April 15.

Mr. Frank Anthony, M.P., today suggested that the Official Languages Bill should be circulated at least to the

non-Hindi speaking members for their opinion before it is sought to be passed.

In a statement Mr. Anthony said it would appear from lobby reports that the Government proposed to rush through the Bill in a week's time. This, in his view, would be an "unpardonable imposition" on the non-Hindi speaking people.

An immediate disastrous effect of the implementation of the Bill, he said, would be the upsetting of the whole employment pattern.

"While, at present, the Hindi speaking candidates find it difficult to compete with those from the non-Hindi speaking States, the implementation of this measure will give an interesting monopolistic stranglehold to the most inferior candidates merely because of the accident of their knowing Hindi." Mr. Anthony said.

MR. NATH PAI M.P.'S FLING AT SYSTEMATIC PRUNING OF DEFENCE MINISTER CHAWAN'S POWERS

Mr. Nath Pai in his speech in the Parliament during the Budget Session said: "there was no strategy. No sooner had Mr. Chavan come here, efforts were made to prune his wings. 'The Defence Minister has been caged, cabined and crippled'."

He referred to the vital aspects of the Colombo proposals, adding, "Is not the Defence Ministry concerned with this? Everybody was called when the delegation of the Colombo powers were here. One absence was that of the Defence Minister."

In the past Mr. Nath Pai pointed out, Defence was subordinated to External Affairs. "Today the time has come when we should try to see to it that Development, External Affairs and Defence play in symphony. The old cacophony and discordance must go. The stream must be integrated and if anything both Development and External affairs must be subordinated to the requirements of the defence of our country and everything else will come after that."

10-YEAR PLAN TO CHECK POPULATION GROWTH

AURANGABAD.

Mr. M. D. Chaudhari, Maharashtra's Health Minister has suggested a ten-year family planning programme for the State to tackle the problem of population growth.

The population growth, he said prevented appreciable improvement in the living standards of the people.

Mr. Chaudhari, who was presiding over the seventh meeting of the State Family Planning Board here, said that this programme might involve an expenditure of Rs. 30 crores during the ten-year period.

The plan would envisage greater emphasis on sterilisation, fixing of targets to be achieved in each district and the creation of incentives among the people through education.

He added that at the present rate of population growth, the total population in the State would be 488 lakhs by 1971 (as compared with 395 lakhs in 1961).

By 1981 it would have reached the 600-lakhs mark.

The ten-year family planning programme, he emphasised aimed at reducing the rate of growth by 50 per cent.

LIBERTARIAN SOCIAL INSTITUTE BANGALORE.

BANGALORE, April 13: Mr. V. K. Narasimhan addressed the Study circle Meeting on "National Emergency." Prof. M. A. Venkata Rao presided.

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IN THIS ISSUE

	Page
EDITORIAL:	
Dialectics of a 'Moscow' Patriot ..	2
The Danger of Cultural Lag ..	5
By M. A. Venkata Rao ..	
The Mysterious Rajkot Fast ..	7
By M. N. Tholal ..	
ECONOMIC SUPPLEMENT	
The Individual vs. The State ..	1-IV
By Josiah Warren ..	9
DELHI LETTER:	
Crucial Talks on Kashmir ..	10
Book Review ..	11
The Mind of the Nation ..	12
News and Views ..	12
Dear Editor ..	14



DIALECTICS OF A 'MOSCOW' PATRIOT

The Indian Communist Party Chairman Mr. S. A. Dange is one of the oldest Indian Communists in India and is considered to be an authority on the strategy and tactics, global and local, employed by international Communism to communise the whole world. He has in the 'NEW AGE' attempted a laboured defence of the 'patriotic' policies followed by his group, in reply to the devastating attack against them by the editorial titled 'Mirror For Revisionists' which appeared in the Peoples' Daily of China. The lengthy reply of Mr. Dange confirms, if at all, the already well-grounded suspicions of the Indian Nationalists that the Communist Party of India had purposefully divided itself into two wings, pro-China and pro-Moscow, just by way of a hoax and make-believe so as to keep the nation off its guard regarding the role of saboteurs that the Communists are playing covertly and overtly in the Sino-Indian conflict.

That the one aim before the Chinese Communists as well as Dange Communists is to bring about Communist revolution in every country of the world and phrases like 'co-existence' 'world peace' are used by them only with their tongues in their cheeks, is amply borne out by Mr. Dange's admission that his party's seeking United Front with Indian Progressivists led by Mr. Nehru, is motivated by a desire 'to save the ideology of Communism and the reputation of the Socialist camp from being discredited among the masses' and that "a United Front does not mean tailing behind or merging with the Bourgeoisie, the alien class. United Front is also a form of class struggle." Shorn of the Communist verbiage, the statement amounts to this: the Dange group wants to work surreptitiously for a Communist revolution in India from within the ranks of the Indian nationalists through their infiltrating and corroding tactics as the Communists are doing everywhere in South-East Asia now, from Laos, Indo-China to Burma and Ceylon, while allowing the extremists wing of the party to direct a frontal attack on Nehru's bourgeois government and its 'reactionary' and 'pro-imperialist' policies. Thus both Ranadive group and Dange group are fully co-operating with each other in combining legal work with ill-legal work to sabotage India's war effort, — a tactic advocated by Lenin, Stalin and Mao in their writings and effectively put into practice by them in their own times.

The whole rigmarole indulged in by Mr. Dange will carry conviction to none except his close followers and the fellow-travellers. With all his Communist jargon and phrase-mongering, Mr. Dange has miserably failed to point out how exactly India under Nehru could have put up even the semblance of resistance against Chinese aggression on India without the prompt and opportune military and

financial aid given to her by the 'imperialist' Britain and U.S.A. and why U.S.S.R.'s offer of MIGs to India and export of Russian capital to this country on a larger scale than that of Anglo-American capital, as admitted in Dange's thesis, should not be dubbed as 'Russian imperialist interference' with India's internal economy and political and military affairs. But we forget that consistency is the virtue of an ass and certainly not that of a Communist dialectician.

HYPOCRISY

The whole statement thus is an essay in hypocrisy and deceit, a common feature and a distinctive mark of all Communist thinking and doing. It only lays bare the obvious fact that the Dange group is acting as the safety-valve to salvage the Indian Communist Party from complete extinction which was threatening it in the hot climate created for it in the country by the Chinese invasion and by the determined will of the nation to hurl it back, if necessary, even with the aid of Western democratic allies. Mr. Dange and his followers are only towing the Moscow line of Mr. Khrushchev, while keeping up the pretense of supporting Nehru and his policies.

Dange is therefore mistaken if he thinks that the genuine Indian Nationalist will not be able to pierce through the web of dialectics of the Fifth Columnist so cleverly woven by Mr. Dange, when he says: 'To us with all his faults, vacillations and anti-working class actions, he (Nehru) is still an anti-imperialist.' Evidently the Dange-Communists have assigned to Mr. Nehru the role played by the social democrat Mr. Kerensky on the eve of the Russian Revolution of 1917.

We do not believe that Mr. Nehru has any intention of obliging these wishful thinkers by playing that role. On the other hand, it may even be that Mr. Nehru may be compelled by force of circumstances to teach these Moscow patriots the lesson of their life, by showing them their rightful place beside their brethren the 'Peking' patriots, now under detention behind the prison-walls, for their nefarious activities mainly designed to sabotage our defence effort and to weaken the nation's will to resist and fight the Chinese menace.

LAOS, A TEST CASE FOR NEUTRALISM

The latest news from Laos about the unprovoked attack by Pathet Lao Communists on two International Commission Helicopters, wounding three Frenchmen and one Indian Major, followed by another brutal attack, killing one Frenchman and wounding two others on or about May 4, 1963 will certainly disappoint those who believe in the efficacy of Neutralism to promote World Peace. In fact the neutral Government of the Laotian 'Troika' headed

by Prince Souvanna came into existence on July 2, 1962 with the full support of all the fourteen signatory governments and the Big Four. Of the three Princes who formed the Troika, the Rightist Prince Boun Oum retired immediately on the formation of the Coalition Government. So the real contestants for power in the present Government are the Neutralist Prince Souvanna and the Leftist pro-communist, Deputy Prince Souphanouvong who is also the titular head of the pro-communist Pathet Lao.

Though the Peoples' Republic of China is one of the fourteen signatories to the declaration recognising the Laotian Coalition Government, she, true to Mao's strategy of deceit and trickery, is doing everything in her power to help the Communists Pathet Lao in disrupting this Coalition. It is a fact too well-known by now that there are thousands of China-trained and well-equipped Pathet Lao Guerrillas operating in the valleys and plateaus of Laos, reinforced every month by an average of five hundred North-Vietnam Communists.

Here too, as in the case of Eastern European countries, the Coalition Government has had the deplorable effect of only strengthening the Communist elements in the Government and the country at the expense of the non-communists. It will be no wonder if in Laos before long the Neutralists are simply squeezed out of the Government by the Communists with the military aid of China.

President Kennedy of America recently sent his roving Ambassador Mr. Harriman to Moscow to discuss this problem with Mr. Khrushchev. Though Mr. Khrushchev is reported to have assured Mr. Harriman of his desire to abide by Geneva Agreements, the former appears to be powerless to check the expansionist moves of China in this area. As for U.S.A. though she is opposed to any partitioning of Laos as proposed by Communists Pathet Lao, she is not averse to the cease-fire talks going on between the neutralist Prince and the Pathet Lao Communists.

The net result of all these talks with the Communists has been a shooting game started again by the Pathet Lao Communists. Let India's 'Non-aligners' beware betimes of such talks with the Chinese Reds!

One wonders whether, with Non-alignment and Neutralism reigning supreme over the minds of the Asian leaders, Western Democracies feel that the game is lost for democracy in this region. They must be, therefore, trying now only to postpone the evil day of triumphant Communism in South East Asia, by supporting much against their will the weary cease-fire talks and the futile International Commissions.

KASHMIR AND WESTERN MILITARY AID

Mr. Nehru's categorical announcement that he has been assured on behalf of the British and American Governments that the Kashmir question is not directly linked with that of the arms-aid from the West, will no doubt dispel the grave misgivings

in the minds of Indians regarding the real intentions of these Western countries. One has to look at this question dispassionately in order to be able to arrive at right conclusions in this regard. The Western powers, particularly Britain had till recently vital and very intimate political and economic stakes in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent and during the period of their long association with it, they had come to look upon the whole region as one geo-political unit. The present stand they are taking on the Kashmir issue vis-a-vis the Sino-Indian conflict, is to some extent rooted in this historical factor. These powers rightly think that India cannot be effectively defended against China's attack without the active sympathy and co-operation of Pakistan which has interlacing and fluid frontiers with the former and that Indo-Pak joint defence against China is inevitable. Besides, what these Western powers are concerned with more than any other is the containment of Chinese expansionism in South-East Asia.

They therefore naturally feel that Indo-Pak accord on Kashmir will strengthen India's defence system against China.

All press reports go to show that the Western powers have now got thoroughly disgusted with Pakistan's tactics of blackmail, not only against India but also against America and Britain. It is improbable therefore that these nations will any longer allow Pakistan to exploit India's adversity as her best opportunity to gain her own ends in Kashmir. Particularly they are offended at Pakistan's wooing China

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and signing a border pact with her. In the wake of the latest military strategy in this age of inter-continental missiles Pakistan's military importance in the anti-communist global strategy of the democratic world has considerably dwindled.

India can get both the disputes over Kashmir and Sino-Indian borders settled peacefully in her favour if she so wills it. Her size, population, natural resources, strategic position in the East are impressive enough. Pakistan can never hope to compete with her in this respect. The Western nations do realise all this. They now appear to be in a frame of mind to meet India more than half way, provided India on her part moves in the right direction and sheds off her pet illusions and dreams.

ANTI-SOCIAL AND ANTI-PEOPLE ACT

The Attorney General of India told the Lok Sabha the other day that it was competent to enact legislation on Compulsory Deposits and this piece of legislation did not attract the provisions of the Indian Constitution on Fundamental Rights. He further said that the restrictions imposed on the citizens' right 'to dispose of property' were reasonable and in the interests of the general public and that the measure provided for a form of control of 'the material resources of the community and their employment' in such a manner as to subserve the common good.

With all deference for the opinion of the Attorney General, we must say that it is doubtful whether the Constitution-makers had ever contemplated including the monthly earnings of salaried people in the offices and workers in factories and also the income of the farmers in the fields, in the phrase 'material resources of the community.' The Attorney General when confronted by Mr. A. P. Jain in the course of the discussion in the Parliament with the judgment of the Supreme Court that money was not 'property' under Article 19, the Attorney General replied in an evasive way that the court was entitled to its own opinion on the matter and that he still adhered to his own. In reply to Mr. Ranga, who raised the point whether half of the land revenue could be taken from the farmers under the Compulsory Deposit Scheme when the subject of land revenue came under the States List, the Attorney General said that one should look to the pith and substance of the legislation which refers to Compulsory Deposits on the basis of income urban or rural. Both these replies do not seem to have satisfied the members of the Parliament and the consensus of opinion is that the matter would not rest there and would have to be finally decided by the Supreme Court alone.

Apart from these obvious legal lacunae in the Bill, it must be also emphasised here that this legislation is also anti-social and anti-people, hitting hard as it does even the low income groups which are nearly semi-starved in these days of inflationary prices of essential commodities. Moreover, to judge from the statement of the Prime Minister himself there is

no emergency immediately facing the country to warrant the passing of such legislation in hot haste. It could have been deferred for some time to enable the Government and the people to reassess the emergency situation in the country even if it could not be altogether dropped. Thus the Bill itself is the most effective argument in favour of putting an end to the State of emergency declared by the Government.

REGIONALISM, THE ONLY VICTOR

Prime Minister Nehru, while defending the Union Languages Bill, is reported to have observed that knowledge of English is quite essential even for the development, of regional languages and further complimented the Madras Government on having made Tamil the official language of the State. Frankly speaking we cannot compliment Mr. Nehru on his having approved of the reactionary step taken by the Madras Government to accord Tamil the place of the official language of the State, though we heartily agree with the first part of his statement.

This move to make regional language the State language could be encouraged only if we ceased to believe that India is one united nation and not a conglomeration of various nations and principalities. If each one of the Indian States should adopt the regional language as its official language, the inter-state link through a common language will be considerably loosened, if not completely destroyed. In the result, the States will be isolated from one another and increasingly tend to become sub-nations.

It is therefore high time Mr. Nehru and his Government gave a decent burial to Hindi-English controversy by declaring English to be the sole official language at the Centre and in the States. Hindi and other regional languages could be usefully introduced at the district level since district offices have little to do with States other than their own. The sooner our leaders realise that in this artificially-created Hindi-English conflict it is only linguistic regionalism that has come out as the true victor, the better it will be for national integration and cohesion.

—D. M. Kulkarni

FOOD FOR THOUGHT

'The way to have good and safe Government is not to trust it all to one, but to divide it among the many, distributing it to every one exactly the function he is competent to.'

—JAFFERSON.

'The moment the idea is admitted into society that property is not as sacred as the laws of God and there is not a force of law and public justice to protect it, anarchy and tyranny commence.'

—JOHN ADAMS.

'THE PERIL TO LIBERTY TODAY COMES FROM THE LEFT FROM SOVIET AND CHINESE COMMUNISM'.

—WILLIAM CHAMBERLIN.

The Danger Of Cultural Lag

By M. A. VENKATA RAO

Most of India's problems arise from cultural lag in many fields. The author suggests the creation of an Indianisation Department on a Central Scale with branches in all the States on the model of the Americanisation Department in U.S.A. In political sphere too, a knowledge of democratic conventions and institutions and democratic administration as also of the interference of International Communism in world affairs and India's domestic matters, should be spread and broadcast among the people.

Social advance does not take place at an equal pace on all fronts. New factors appear first in some area of social life and culture in respect of some trait of culture, material or nonmaterial. The factor of change may consist in a new object of use for peace or war or a new idea or value in regard to established norms of behaviour. But the rest of society may continue in the old ways while the new elements are having their effect in relevant spheres of social action. The discrepancy between the new and the old, the dynamic and the static elements in social advance is spoken of by sociologists as Cultural Lag.

Especially in the modern era after the development of technological industry and the changed outlook on nature and life introduced by science, various forms of cultural lag are appearing in modern societies bringing in their train many problems of social maladjustment and distress.

These social dislocations are particularly marked in ancient societies such as ours owing to the impact of modern forces, industrial, political and scientific. The achievement of national independence by many Asian and African peoples after the two world wars has accentuated the malaise and crisis consequent on the necessity for adapting new ways of life and re-making old forms of living.

Today in India most of our problems arise from this matrix of the impact of modern forces and the delay in adapting inherited forms of life and behaviour so as to make the best use of new opportunities. Any further delay in such accommodation and persistence in cultural lag on many fronts, material and psychological will seriously jeopardise nation-building and the smooth development of social skills essential for progress. Far from contributing to progress, failure to solve the problems set by cultural lag in many fields may spell the loss of national independence itself together with all the evils flowing therefrom!

The continued patronage to khadi and village industries in the way in which Congress leaders are giving at the expense of the common man not committed to these fads, is an instance of cultural lag on the economic plane. Crores of rupees are being wasted on this Gandhian vested interest based more on sentiment and the inability to change old habits and attitudes than on any proved utility for anyone. The economics and politics of khadi and village industries need probing from a scientific point of view.

The refusal to rethink the Gandhian inheritance of prohibition is another form of costly cultural lag which is preventing the cutting of enormous losses and the scotching of vast accretions of corruption in the related services.

The lip service to panchayat raj and decentralisation that has led to a vast extension of the party machine to rural areas, introducing democratic corruptions into the remotest corners of the country is another form of cultural lag.

The concept of decentralisation has many meanings and the exact limits within which and the exact area in which it is wholesome and necessary in economic and political life at the regional level need to be explored on the basis of actual experience and the implications of federal government in a parliamentary democracy of the kind that we have adopted.

The kind of panchayat or village self-government that had a measure of success in pre-British days may be quite inapplicable today. The practice of selection of members of self-governing committees by the popular vote is introducing all-India politics and party strife into village life. This is unavoidable.

But how much of power can be delegated to these units of local autonomy is a delicate question.

The cultural lag between the spot-light of leadership at the level of State and Union politics and that of village interests and personalities is so great that democracy in panchayati raj is becoming a mockery and a menace to good government and decent social life already!

A recent conflict between two groups in a village in Madras State accompanied by bloodshed and the intervention by military police to restore order is eloquent of the distance between the two areas of political life in India today—Central and rural. Two groups came to blows on a dispute about which side should have the honour of waving a towel on the channel headworks on a festival day to symbolise the beginning of the flow of water in the irrigation canal for the year!

This resembles the old fights even among Brahmin sects as to which side should have prasad first in the temple! The matter has often gone to High Courts and involved the expenditure of lakhs of rupees!

They can think of nothing better on which to lavish their devotion and no better symbols of social

distinction more nearly related to social service! This is cultural lag of the most typical kind.

There are people who will spend hours in the morning after their ceremonial bath feeding ants and insects! But they would be hard and ruthless in their business deals and would refuse to aid schools or orphanages!

Even Central Ministers encourage sadhus (monks) (vide the sadhu samaj) with government funds to travel and preach to the ignorant people! Their hope is that the prestige attached to the yellow robe by the ignorant masses could be mobilised in support of the ruling party! Some time ago, a mysterious railway train visited most cities in the country—all for sadhus who were supposed to preach morality to the people en route at wayside stations and the principal cities. When the sadhu train arrived, the local chief minister presided at a meeting in the town hall to facilitate the sadhu campaign! And this in a country that has a modern leader like Jawaharlal Nehru as prime Minister who is never tired of upholding the principles of secularism as his life mission! And under a Constitution that prohibits expenditure of public funds for religious propaganda!

The whole ethics of renunciation and the idea of moksha (a transcendental goal) as the support of morality is contrary to the spirit of secularism as understood by the Prime Minister but yet such queer proceedings as the encouragement of sadhu samajas take place without much protest by anyone!

The lack of the requisite degree of social cohesion and national unity necessary to support the many-sided programmes of economic planning and industrialisation as well as that of all-out national defence on an adequate scale points to another imbalance and instance of cultural lag which is proving dangerous to national survival.

The spontaneous emotional response to the Chinese Aggression and the unity displayed in demanding an all-out resistance to the invader is yet too frail and thin for the burdens it imposes on the people.

If the emotional unity is to be rendered permanent and built into national character, the traditional modes of communication between (and among) the different levels groups and sections of the people (which are so limited by caste, snobbery, notions of inferiority and superiority should be over-hauled and remodelled consciously.

The gulfs between region and region, language and language, rich and poor, office-holder and the common man, have to be consciously narrowed and abridged and ultimately destroyed. Inter-caste dinners and marriages have to be encouraged and quickened as a matter of official policy, unobtrusively but persistently.

The law against untouchability has of course done some good and the policy of encouragement of the scheduled castes and tribes by way of scholarships and favour in regard to entry into administrative offices has done some good.

But specially in the interior the sinister bar against social intercourse remains too strong yet.

Mr. Hanumanthaiya precipitated a riot when as chief minister he encouraged untouchable wrestlers to participate in the wrestling tournament or bouts before the Palace during Dasarah! He was threatened with assault and the idea had to be given up! The wrestlers of the caste Hindu section would not permit the entry of untouchable countrymen into the sacred arena!

The idea of the sacred has to be consciously transferred from old caste contours to the national frontier to include all nationals from the lowliest, the lost and the disinherited.

Only the mixing of blood can overcome the barrier of caste and tribe and forge the new bond of national fellowship with hoops of steel, rather with filaments of the nervous system and mind. A new mind and a new soul establishing free contact at all levels from economic exchange to divine worship, from public meeting to participation in art and social fellowship has to be developed.

The long series of attacks by the Muslims on Hindus in the pre-independence period in the principal cities and towns of the country created a sense of danger which induced the Hindus to admit the untouchables to their society. But the mood has now passed.

The Chinese aggression has again high-lighted the necessity to fuse the thousands of castes and sects and tribes of Indian society into a single national society with freedom for individuals and families to move up and down, from region to region, and State to State. The freedom promised in the Constitution should be watchfully secured in actual practice. All instances of discrimination against any group anywhere should be investigated promptly from the standpoint of all-India nationalism and citizenship and just grievances redressed.

Like the Americanisation department, we should have an Indianisation department on a Central Scale with branches in States to look after this aspect of the consolidation of citizenship on the basis of national sentiment. This is a cultural lag that should not be neglected any longer.

Another sphere in which there is a dangerous measure of cultural lag is political thought.

In particular, the objectives and activities of international communism through the Indian communist party and through foreign agents need to be watched on behalf of the nation by the Governments of the country.

Full information about world politics in general and international communism in particular and its moves in the cold war and its tactics of infiltration should be studied by impartial scholars and institutes should be set up for the purpose.

The way in which international communism is interfering in the public mind and internal affairs in our country is becoming dangerous. The public is unaware of the danger involved in their activities. There is no institution in the country devoted to a

(Continued on Page 8)

The Mysterious Rajkot Fast

By M. N. Tholal,

In one of my articles on Gandhi-Nehru succession I was unfair to Sir Maurice Gwyer and the Viceroy. Further study on the intriguing subject of the Rajkot fast reveals that, far from being a political award to please Gandhi and strengthen his hands against Subhas Bose, the Gwyer Award was perfectly justified. My mistake was due to the fact that the note of the Thakore Saheb of Rajkot to Sardar Patel was not given the publicity it deserved. Even Gandhi for sometime withheld it from the public for reasons of his own. I was misled by Gandhi's statement that "it was no part of the Sardar's duty to publish the Thakore Saheb's letter about the composition of the Committee" — which was disregarded in the composition of the Committee and led to the breach of faith, which in turn led to the Rajkot Fast. But my main theme stands — that the Rajkot drama was enacted to down Bose. Indeed, a close scrutiny of its various scenes throws a flood of light on Gandhi and his technique and how his hold over the Congress was something which he could not dream of losing.

To understand the drama and its motives and reasons it is necessary to follow events in their chronological order. That there was a breach of faith on the part of the Thakore Saheb admits of no doubt, for his note to Sardar Patel stated: "Agreed that the seven (non-official) members (out of ten) of the Reforms Committee mentioned in Clause 2 of the said announcement of this date are to be recommended by Sardar Patel and they are to be nominated by us." But did this breach of faith justify the haste with which Mahatma Gandhi undertook the fast unto death at Rajkot, with of course, as we shall see, all necessary precautions that it should not end in his death?

In the middle of December, 1938, the Congress Working Committee passed a resolution drafted by Gandhi saying that "considerations of prudence prevent the Congress from interfering organisationally and directly in the internal struggle in the States". On January 25 Sardar Patel announced resumption of the struggle in Rajkot on account of the "cold-blooded breach of a solemn covenant" by the Thakore Saheb of Rajkot. Gandhi supported it. On February 3, 1939, Gandhi issued a statement from Segaoon saying that the "Musalman and Bhayat objection to the personnel of the Committee was engineered after the event". Gandhi insisted on a majority of Sardar Patel's nominees on the Reforms Committee.

Before starting for Rajkot on February 25 Gandhi had received news of the discontinuation of the hunger-strike by the Rajkot prisoners, so that there was no urgent compelling reason for him to leave for Rajkot, particularly when a giant of the Sardar's stature could be there to see to it that the agreement with him was honoured. Indeed, Gandhi was in no condition to leave for Rajkot. His doctors

had ordered him absolute rest, but he refused to allow his Secretary, Pyarelal, to publish the note about his health which was very unsatisfactory. Not only all journeyings but even the usual morning and evening walks had been forbidden. On his way to Rajkot, which he reached on February 28, Gandhi wrote to Pyarelal: "How myserious are the ways of God. This journey to Rajkot is a wonder even to me. Why am I going? What for? I have thought nothing of these things. And if God guides me what should I think, why should I think? Even thought may be an obstacle in the way of His guidance. The fact is it takes no effort to stop thinking. The thoughts do not come. Indeed, there is no vacuum—but I mean to say there is no thought about the mission."

"MY HEART IS THERE"

On March 2, on the eve of the Tripuri Congress, Gandhi confirmed to Pressmen his decision to fast unto death if his request to the Thakore Saheb was not complied with. Wrote Gandhi to the Thakore Saheb: "If you cannot see your way to accept my suggestions before noon tomorrow, my fast will commence from that time and it will continue till after acceptance." He asked him to "accept joyfully my submission..." Just one day's notice was given of a fast unto death. Why this unduly short notice? So that the fast may synchronise with the Congress session in which his chelas were to deal with that man, Bose who wouldn't accept his submissions joyfully?

Nevertheless, necessary precautions had to be taken to rob the fast of a fatal issue. Before he started the fast Gandhi had sent a message to Lord Linlithgow, the Viceroy. The message was kept a secret, although he abhorred secrecy. The Viceroy, in reply to Gandhi's message, on March 6 offered the services of the Chief Justice of India, Sir Maurice Gwyer, to arbitrate. Gandhi broke his fast on March 7, although none of his submissions had been accepted by the Thakore Saheb. On breaking his fast, he said, "One word about the Congress. My heart is there, but I see that I will not be able to reach there. I must not divide my attention between Tripuri and Rajkot... I have work to do here (Rajkot)." A critic asked Gandhi: "What have you gained to warrant the breaking of your fast? Not one of the terms of your ultimatum to the Thakore Saheb has been fulfilled, except the release of prisoners. But you never took the fast for their release." Gandhi replied, "The letter killeth; the spirit giveth life". The letter, indeed, would have killed him, while the spirit (as he interpreted it) had saved him.

On March 6, just on the eve of the Tripuri Congress, Gandhi told the Press: "I have made every effort that is humanly possible to go to Tripuri, but God willed it otherwise." Would it not have been

truer to say: "I have made every effort that is humanly possible to avoid going to Tripuri and to be frightfully busy at Rajkot?" But what was he doing at Rajkot, with the whole thing in abeyance, awaiting the Chief Justice's award? There was no question of dividing attention between Tripuri and Rajkot when the Rajkot affair was, at least for the time being, over. It was not God but Bose that willed it otherwise. Let us now have a look at the doings of his democratic disciples assembled at Tripuri, with a glimpse at the background of their activities.

On January 24, 1939, seven members of the Congress Working Committee issued a statement questioning the validity of the reasons for a contest in the Congress presidential election given in the statement of Subhas Bose. They were: Sardar Patel, Rajendra Prasad, Jammalal Bajaj, Shankarrao Deo, Jairamdas Daulatram, Bhulabhai Desai and Kripalani. They supported Pattabhi Sitaramayya's candidature. (It must be admitted here they had every right to do so.) Bose retorted by saying, "I feel strongly that we should have during this momentous year a genuine anti-Federationist in the Presidential chair." On January 25 Sardar Patel stated, "At informal consultations at which Azad, Nehru, Rajendra Prasad, Bhulabhai Desai, Kripalani and Mahatma Gandhi were present, not by design but by accident, it was agreed that Pattabhi was the only choice left."

"COME OUT OF THE CONGRESS"

In the contest that followed Bose defeated Pattabhi Sitaramayya and Gandhi issued the following statement over Bose's victory: "The defeat is more mine than his. I am nothing if I do not represent definite principles and policy. Therefore, it is plain to me that the delegates do not approve of the principles and policy for which I stand. I rejoice in this defeat... This enables him to choose a homogeneous cabinet and enforce his programme without let or hindrance... If they (the minority) cannot keep pace with it (his policy and programme) they can come out of the Congress. Those, therefore, who feel uncomfortable in being in the Congress may come out..." So great was Gandhi's joy in his defeat that he asked his followers to come out of the Congress. No wonder his disciples responded by resigning from the Congress Working Committee. On February 22, 1939, the resignations of 12 members of the Congress Working Committee were announced, followed by that of Jawaharlal Nehru. The twelve were: Patel, Azad, Rajendra Prasad, Mrs. Naidu, Bhulabhai Desai, Sitaramayya, Shankarrao Deo, Mehtab, Kripalani, Jairamdas Daulatram, Bajaj and Ghaffar Khan. In their letter, believed to have been drafted by Gandhi, they told President Bose: "We feel that the time has come when the country should have a clear-cut policy not based on compromise between different incompatible groups of the Congress. It is but right, therefore, that you should select a homogeneous cabinet representing the views of the majority."

It was this "homogeneous cabinets" plea which

led to the split with the Muslim League in 1937 despite the pre-election gentlemen's agreement between the Congress and the League in favour of a coalition cabinet in U.P. Within two years it was raising its ugly, unpatriotic head again to divide Bengal from the rest of India. And where was the incompatibility? Did Bose stand for subservience to Britain? If he thought the Rightists were secretly in favour of Federation, as did many others, was it such an unpardonable crime that he should have been expelled from the Congress for the misunderstanding? The funniest of the resignations was that of Jawaharlal Nehru, for he at least was no Rightist and had, indeed, been bewailing his lot as a Leftist President in a Rightist Congress. Was it for him and men like him to resent the election of a Leftist as Congress President, not at the sufferance of Mahatma Gandhi, as his own elections had been, but in defiance of the Mahatma? Was it for him to non-co-operate when the time came to pat his comrade on the back and say "Shabash"? But that is exactly what he did. He also resigned from the Working Committee. For, the clever Mahatma had been hanging before him the bait of succession to isolate Bose. And the Mahatma, as he used to say about himself, was a democrat by instinct. "As for Jawaharlal," Gandhi told Gandhi Seva Sanghis, "We know that neither of us can do without the other, for there is a heart union between us which which no intellectual differences can break." No, indeed, for the heart union sprang from identity of interest, not national interest but their respective interest in which the country was nowhere in the picture. If intellectual differences lead a man to follow one he differs from, there is something obviously radically wrong with both the mind and the heart of one if not of both—certainly that of the follower—and of the leader also if he is a great admirer of the follower. That should pass as an indisputable proposition.

(To be continued)

(Continued from Page 6)

study of its activities on a scientific basis. Government and wealthy people should without delay finance competent individuals and institutions to carry on this work in the public interest.

A knowledge of democratic conventions and institutions and the art of democratic administrations should also be spread and broadcast among the people. Discussion clubs should be started in every town and village. Public funds should be used in support of such activities. Such support is more justifiable than that now given to Bharat Sevak Samaj, National Discipline Institutions, Sadhu Samaj and other such frieks. The subject is vast. A few of the lines in the vast process of modernisation along which conscious planned effort is necessary have been indicated here. This is part of creative administration which is essential to support external economic progress and political machinery.

ECONOMIC SUPPLEMENT**POPULATION AND ECONOMIC GROWTH**

by Prof. G. N. LAWANDE, M.A.

Of all our economic, social & political problems the population problem constitutes the most fundamental and crucial problem to day and unless this problem is satisfactorily solved all our talk about economic growth is meaningless because population is intimately connected with the economic growth. During the last twelve years we are trying to achieve rapid economic growth in order to raise the standard of living of the underfed, underclothed people but the progress made so far clearly indicates that our Government has miserably failed to achieve the desired results and the main cause of this fact is the alarming population growth. India is rich in numbers of population and man power resources, but poor in economic achievement. According to the 1961 census it has 443 millions and next to China it has the largest population among the countries in the world. During the last decade i.e. between 1951 and 1961 we increased by 77 millions or about 21.5 per cent and this is the largest increase that our country has witnessed. The most important feature of this growth is the heterogeneous increase of population in the various states of the Indian Union. The increase is 34.39 in Assam and 32.94 in West Bengal but only 11.73 in Madras. There are various factors behind this tremendous and unwelcome increase and the most important factor is the high birth rate and declining death rate. During the last decade rate has declined from 40 to 27 per thousand but the birth rate has not registered any serious decline during the last few years. As a result of this rapid increase in our population the standard of living of the teeming millions has remained practically stagnant in spite of the fact that we are registering advances and improvements in every sector of our economy year by year as a result of five year plans. Thus the basic economic problem is demographic. We wish to raise or increase the per capita income of our people and according to the Planning Commission we have to increase our per capita by 5 per cent per annum in the Third Five Year Plan. This will not be possible unless attempts are being made to reduce our birth rate. Unfortunately in the existing circumstances of underdeveloped countries the decline in the birth rate occurs very slowly compared with the rapid decline in mortality in the course of economic development. To raise the per capita income and standard of living of the existing population it is necessary that our birth rate should fall to match with the declining mortality. Economic growth which is generally measured on the basis of undimensional indicator, namely, per capita income is very much dependent on the size and course of population growth. Really speaking

the rate of economic growth essentially depends on the rate of the growth of population, the proportion of the current income of the country devoted to the capital formation and the return obtained from the investment undertaken. Most of the underdeveloped countries save only about 5 per cent of their national income and invest it in economic progress. According to Spengler an investment of 4 per cent of its national income is necessary if population increases by 1 per cent in order to maintain the existing standard of living of the population.

As we save less than 8 per cent of our national income a population growth rate of even two percent can be considered to be explosive rate. This impressive annual increase of eight million people nullifies all our efforts to achieve our objective. What is necessary is the proper population policy based on and balanced between population numbers and the basic needs of other people on the one hand and the available resources on the other. The Planning Commission has not formulated a proper population policy and this is an important lacuna in our Five Year Plans. Economic growth of our economy cannot be accelerated unless positive and democratic population policy free from coercion and force is adopted. Such a policy must consider the objectives to be attained and means to be adopted. In the opinion of one school of thought there is no need for such a policy because once we raise our standard of living of our people the birth rate will automatically fall because in order to maintain the higher standard of living they would automatically limit their families. The second view is that that low standard of living cannot be substantially raised unless the birth rate is greatly reduced because the new entrants will consume the increased production that takes place as a result of economic growth with the result that the standard of living of the existing population remains stagnant. The low incomes of the poor people are hardly sufficient to increase production. There is truth in this argument because production and population are related to each other. At the same time it is equally true that increased population does not necessarily mean increased production. In the present circumstances we can accelerate the rate of our economic growth and raise the per capita income of our people and standard of living only by reducing the birth rate. The higher rate of increase in population has meant in the first instance a lower rate of growth in per capita income the Third Plan Report clearly admits the fact that though national income has increased by 42 per cent. "the increase in per capita has been only 16 per cent owing to the increase in population". "What is even more signi-

ficant is that the per capita income target of the Second Plan has been almost fulfilled only in monetary terms but has missed the real income target due to inflation in price level. The impact of inflation on income level seems to be compensated by the deflationary effect of population growth on per capita income ultimately fulfilling the per capita target of the first decade of planning in monetary terms." In the first year of the Third Plan national income in real terms has increased only by 2.2 per cent over the previous year and this increase is just equal to the current rate of the population growth. It means that the per capita income has failed to increase and this will affect the economic growth in the coming years. We intend to achieve the take off stage leading to self-sustained growth in the Third Plan but higher population growth delays take off which requires saving—investment ratio according to Prof. Rostow of 15 to 20 per cent of national income in an underdeveloped country. Between 1951 and 61 the net investment has increased from 7 per cent to 11 per cent but this increase has been neutralised by the population growth which increased from 1.3 per cent to 2.1 per cent in the same period. Between 1960-62 our domestic investment was only 8.5 per cent a rate which is just sufficient to maintain the status quo of the economy and standard of living of the people. We intend to raise the total investment to 14 per cent but this can be realised only if we can stabilise our population growth at the level of 2 per cent per annum and this can take place if an effective curb on population growth is made; without such a curb improvements in the income and the levels of living will not be possible.

To achieve this objective we have to adopt the policy of family planning. In the First Plan the Planning Commission has recommended the programme of family planning in the following terms: "It is apparent that the population control can be achieved only by the reduction of the birth rate to the extent necessary to stabilise the population at a level consistent with the requirements of national economy. This can be secured only by the realisation of the need for family limitation on a wide scale by the people, the main appeal for family planning is based on consideration of health and welfare of the family. Family limitation or spacing of children is necessary and desirable in order to secure better health for the mother and better care and upbringing of children." In the Second Plan Government has adopted family planning as an indispensable policy and this can be seen from the following: "The problem of regulating India's population from the dual standpoint of size and quality is of utmost importance to national welfare and national planning". In the Third Plan great stress has been laid on family planning and the Planning Commission has stated that the objective of stabilising the growth of population over a reasonable period of time must be the very centre of planned development. The programme of family planning has to be undertaken not merely as a major development programme but a nation-wide movement which embodies a basic attitude towards a better life for the individual, the family and the community. The available experi-

ence in family planning methods in various parts of the country especially in rural areas shows that conventional contraceptives are not very successful because of the illiteracy, ignorance and conservatism of the majority of our people. What is necessary is that the contraceptive should be cheap, effective, safe, harmless and reliable. In our country due to poverty and backwardness of our people it is problematical whether we can reduce the birth rate by means of family planning. In spite of this, action should be taken to achieve an effective decline in fertility within the short period that is in the period of Third Plan so that the people can reap the fruits of economic growth in the Fourth and Fifth Plan periods. The programme of family planning must be placed on war footing. The programme of family planning must reach every nook and corner of our country so that the people can not only reap the economic gains but assure a decent standard of living to every family in our country.

SALT TAX

The Finance Minister, Mr. Morarji Desai refused to levy a tax on salt on the ground, among others, that Mahatma Gandhi and Gopal Krishna Gokhale were opposed to the tax.

Gokhale's opposition was neither absolute nor final. He pleaded for the **reduction** of the duty, particularly when the budgets showed **surpluses** over some years. He even anticipated **increases in revenue** by a **reduction of duty**. In his budget speech in the Imperial Legislative Council in 1904, he said:

The soundest and best policy in the matter—even financially—would, therefore, seem to be to give rise on expanding revenue on an expanding consumption under a diminishing scale of duties.

His further observation is very relevant at the present time.

Again, every reduction effected in the duty gives the Government a valuable financial reserve, which may be used in times of a sudden emergency.

Subsequently, the late Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri said that, though it was the ambition of ancient monarchs and the British rulers to abolish the salt-tax as soon as possible, even Indian non-officials had come to regard it as an integral part of the Indian tax system, and that the only difference was about its incidence. Mr. Morarji Desai has the sanction of Gokhale to levy a minimum salt tax in normal times, and to increase it in times of emergency.

It is not unfair to say that the Mahatma's opposition was motivated more by political than fiscal considerations. In any event, he rated truth and non-violence as of the first importance and far above the salt tax. Those who have violated non-violence cannot convincingly quote the Mahatma to discount the Salt Tax. It would amount to making a convenience of him.

—P. Kodanda Rao.

May 15, 1963

Failure Of Gold Control In Russia

ROMAN O. ZYBENKO

The USSR is the second producer of gold in the world, after South Africa. Between 1946 and 1958 the average annual Soviet production was 15 million ounces, while the South African average for the same period was 17.7 million ounces. The averages of other gold-producing countries for the same period were considerably lower: Canada—4.4 million ounces, USA—1.7 million, Australia—1 million.

Observation of the world market shows that the Soviet government parts with its gold very unwillingly. It sells gold only when it is compelled to by domestic or foreign economic circumstances. After the heavy sale of Soviet gold on the international market in 1947 in order to rebuild the war-shattered economy, a large amount (2.1 million ounces) was sold at the end of 1953, apparently in order to assist the Soviet Zone of Germany after the Berlin uprising.

Like all other industries in the Soviet Union, gold-mining is a state monopoly. Authorized gold-mining is done in two different ways—through state undertaking using equipment of advanced design, and through prospecting 'artels' or co-operative enterprises, which mine the gold by fairly primitive methods. According to Soviet law, the artels are required to keep strict accounts and to deliver their gold to the state only. But in fact the law is frequently violated, according to an article by E. Gorelov and A. Krylov in *Ekonomicheskaya gazeta* (November 24, 1962). Local authorities and state receiving centre's permit operations by private prospectors or "voluntary producers," who receive permission to mine, acquire the gold without official supervision and accordingly are able to dispose of a large part of their gold on the black market. According to the same article, gold is stolen in the artels, the state mines and the washing and concentrating mills. For instance, 50 kilograms of "unreceipted" gold was found in the apartment of a certain Shumilin, an inspector of the Magadan mine, another 13 kilograms was found in the possession of two passengers at Magadan airport. The article goes on:

"The theft of gold at the Ynykchan mine is a frequent occurrence. The mine foreman Dyachkov, the cashiers of the gold-receiving office Borodin and Gordievsky and an operator of the washing apparatus, Mindayeva, systematically appropriated gold and sold it to dealers. A large group of gold thieves was active in Tygda raion of Amur Oblast. Amongst the criminals were the state controller of one of the districts, Verkhoturov, the minitor Ergashev, the gold-carrier Kosach, the mine foreman Mysak and others."

"Dealers and speculators," says the same article, come to the goldfields from every part of the Soviet Union:

"These people come together from all ends of the country to the eastern areas during the summer washing season like flies after jam and often win over undependable workers to crime."

They sell the gold thus obtained to jewellers, dental technicians, makers of ornaments, and so on at exorbitant prices. In Sverdlovsk Oblast one such group fashioned more than 30 kilograms of gold into rings, ear-rings and bracelets in a short period of time. According to the same newspaper, there are underground networks of private suppliers and consumers of gold, as well as middlemen. The Black market in gold, they maintain:

"... is to a large extent favoured by the obviously imperfect system of gold prices fixed for prospectors and voluntary producers. This is a very important problem requiring the most careful study."

While the Soviet press reflects serious misgiving regarding the use of "private channels" by dentists and jewellers to obtain gold for their professional work, the fact that "gold stolen from the state leaks through other channels also causes the Soviet government the greatest alarm. Large quantities, it is reported, are accumulated in private hands and disappear underground. In connection with the trial of a group of large-scale currency dealers in Khar'kov, the newspaper *Pravda Ukrainy* recently declared:

"About six kilograms of gold, including 330 objects of gold, platinum and silver, 48 gold watches and many diamonds were discovered in the possession of the accused and were confiscated..... They had hidden them in soap, kitchen walls, the doors of a garage, under the pavement and even in a grave." (January 5, 1963).

The Soviet press abounds in similar reports of "criminal deals" by various "hoarders and money-grubbers" whose hoards of jewels and gold had been confiscated. An article entitled "Dirty Gold," in *Izvestia* (October 3, 1962), throws light on the large scale of these operations. One group operated over the whole of the country:

"The Moscow 'currency speculators' bought gold from foreigners and it passed through the hands of a third person to Zaitov, who was also receiving gold stolen from distant mines. He forwarded it to his agents in Tashkent, Andizhan, Bukhara and Tiflis. There it was resold to local plunderers of socialist property, who had gained so much money by stealing that they did not know what to do with it."

The gold, said the article, was illegally transported throughout the country, mainly by the children of the directors of the "enterprise." One of the "couriers" is described as follows: "a modern young man... with an athletic physique and good-looking, an excellent metal craftsman and fitter, a pas-

IOC HAS NOT MET NEEDS ESTIMATES BODY'S STRICTURES ON IOC'S POOR PERFORMANCE

NEW DELHI.

The Estimates Committee has reported to the Lok Sabha that the performance of the Indian Oil Company in meeting the full requirements of Government organisations had not been quite encouraging and that the future plans were also vague.

The company, wholly owned by the Government, set up with the object of distributing the production of the public-sector refineries and also of taking over ultimately 50 per cent. of the import trade in petroleum products, was expected, "within the shortest possible time", to supply the needs of all Central State Government organisations.

In its 28th report presented to the House recently, the committee regretted that the company had not even compiled complete information on the estimated requirements of petroleum products of the Government organisations, nor had it formulated detailed plans and targets to meet the demands progressively.

The committee criticised the tardy development of the company's storage capacity and pointed out that, while the first phase of its plan had contemplated a total capacity of 235,400 tonnes, the company was able to develop a tankage of 131,600 tonnes, that is, only 55.5 per cent. In the second phase also, the programme was lagging behind.

IMPORTS CURTAILED

It was mainly because the company was not prepared to receive them that oil imports from the U.S.S.R. had to be curtailed. The Committee had an assurance, however, that the full quantity of targeted imports would be received by the end of the fourth year.

The committee also commented adversely on the four-year agreement which IOC entered into with Hindustan Organisers in 1960 for the bulk sale of 40,000 tonnes of superior kerosene and 5,000 tonnes of high-speed diesel oil.

It said the terms of the agreement seemed to be very much in favour of Hindustan Organisers and many unusual features in the transaction suggested that proper care and thought had not been exercised by the board of IOC.

The agreement will be in force till December, 1964, and is terminable after that by either party on a year's notice. The managing director of IOC informed the committee during evidence that he proposed to end the agreement after giving due notice.

After examining the company's finances and accounts the committee expressed surprise that, instead of making a profit, the company had, from 1959-60 to 1961-62, incurred a loss of Rs. 17 lakhs. According to certain calculations placed before the committee the company should have made a profit of Rs. 29.53 lakhs.

sionate football player." Another courier" was the daughter of one of the directors and was a graduate of the Plekhanov Institute in Moscow. It is characteristic that most of the young people in the organization had completed a higher education and in many cases were Party members. Another director of the enterprise, Makhmutov, had three children—one son, a major in the army, and two daughters, one a lawyer, the other a doctor. "These people," says the newspaper, "connected with the criminal world, wore a 'mask for going out'" and "for a long time lived a double life." The earnings of the members of the organization were very high. One of the female members in Moscow was found to possess six kilograms of gold in coin and nuggets, pearls, some strings of which were valued at 20,000 new roubles, 50,000 roubles in cash and State Loan Bonds to the value of hundreds of thousands of roubles.

The same paper, *Izvestia* (January 27, 1963), in an article entitled "The Octopus Made Harmless," reports the case of a Leningrad currency dealer, Zuikov, director of a commercial centre, who acquired a million roubles' worth of property. It was discovered that he had a "museum-storeroom" containing pictures by the famous artists Aivazovsky and Shishkin, cans full of gold, more than one-thousand tsarist coins, valuable diamonds, several thousand American dollars and, finally, an enormous medallion, the size of a large saucer, with a bas-relief of the Emperor Alexander II, also of pure gold. He did not keep his gold ingots at home, but had buried them in a cemetery, in the grave of his own daughter.

Further reports in *Izvestia* (February 3, 1963) and *Radyanska Ukraina* (February 3, 1963) deal with the trial of two "bands" of speculators in gold, diamonds and foreign currency on an enormous scale. The members were of various nationalities and strata of the population—one member was a fighter pilot. Both these organizations also forged money and sold it. There was an electroplating workshop in Leningrad, and members of the Kharkov group manufactured gold ten-rouble pieces to look like tsarist coinage and became the suppliers of a highly profitable underground mint.

All categories of the Soviet population who have excess money—higher Party officials and economic administrators, senior officers in the armed forces and ordinary speculators—are interested in gold. Many of them, unable to use their high salaries to buy their own houses, automobiles, motor cycles, television sets, refrigerators etc., invest their money in the foreign currency and gold acquired by others through theft from the state. Ordinary Soviet citizens, however, also often buy gold to lay away "for a rainy day," even at the expense of giving up basic necessities of life. The recent introduction of the death penalty for speculation in gold and foreign currency shows the extent of this type of crime in the Soviet Union.

--Freedom First

May 15, 1963

The Individual vs. The State

From 'True Civilization' by Josiah Warren

Nothing is more common than the remarks that "no two persons are alike," that "circumstances alter cases," that "we must agree to disagree," etc., and yet we are constantly forming institutions which require us to be alike, which make no allowance for the individuality of persons or of circumstances, and which render it necessary for us to agree, and leave us no liberty to differ from each other, nor to modify our conduct according to circumstances.

On what, then, rest all customs and institutions which demand conformity? They are all directly opposed to individuality, and therefore false. Every person is by nature constituted to be his or her own law, his own church—each individual is a system within himself. The great social problem must be solved with the broadest possible admission of the inalienable right of supreme individuality, which forbids any attempt to govern each other, and confines all our legislation to the adjustment and regulation of our intercourse or commerce with each other.

To require uniformity in thought, feeling or action, is a fundamental error in human legislation—a madness which would be equalled only by requiring all to possess the same countenance, the same voice, or the same stature.

Each individual should be free at all times to differ from every other in thought, feeling, word and deed; and free to differ from himself, or to change from time to time. In other words, every one is constituted by nature to be, at all times, sovereign of himself, or herself, and of everything that constitutes a part of his or her individuality. Society, to be harmonious and successful, must be so constituted that there shall be no demand for an outward show of conformity or uniformity.

Theorists have told us that laws and governments are made for the security of person and property; but it must be evident to most minds that laws and governments never have, never will accomplish this proposed object. Although they have had all the world at their control for thousands of years, they have brought it to a worse condition than that in which they found it, in spite of immense improvements in mechanisms, divisions of labour, and other elements of civilization. On the contrary, under the plausible pretext of securing person and property, they have spread wholesale destitution, famine and wretchedness in every frightful form over all parts of the earth, where peace and security might otherwise have prevailed. They have shed more blood, committed more murders, tortures and other frightful crimes in the struggles against each other for the privilege of governing, than society ever would or could have suffered in the total absence of all government.

It is impossible for anyone who has read the history of governments and the operation of laws to feel secure in person and property under any form of government or any code of laws whatever.

They invade the private household; they imperitently meddle with, and in their blind and besotted wantonness presume to regulate, the most sacred individual feelings. No feelings of security, no happiness can exist in the governed under such circumstances. They set up rules and laws to which they require conformity, while conformity is impossible, and while neither rulers nor ruled can tell how the laws will be interpreted or administered till they have been repeatedly infringed, and punishment has been inflicted; under such circumstances no security for the governed can exist.

A citizen may be suddenly hurried away from his home and despairing family, shut up in a horrid prison, charged with a crime of which he is totally innocent; he may die in prison or on the gallows, and his family may die of mortification and broken hearts. No security can exist where this may happen; yet all these are the operations of laws and governments, which are professedly instituted for the security of person and property.

Rulers claim a right to rise above, and control, the individual, his labor, his trade, his time, and his property, against his own judgment and inclination, while security of person and property cannot exist in anything less than having the supreme government of himself and all his own interests; therefore, security cannot exist under any government whatever.

They compel the individual to desert his family and risk or lay down his life in wars in which he feels no wish to engage. They leave him no choice, no freedom of action upon those very points where his most vital interests are at stake. He can feel no security under governments.

Great crimes are committed by the government of one nation against another, to gratify the ambition or lust of rulers; the people of both nations are thus set to destroy the persons and property of each other, and would be murdered as traitors if they refused. This is the "security of person and property" afforded by governments. With regard to security, we see that in the wide range of the world's bloody history there is not any one horrid feature so frightful, so appalling, as the recklessness, the cold-blooded indifference with which governments have sacrificed person and property instead of protecting person and property.

— Reproduced from "Way Out", School of Living, Ohio.

DELHI LETTER**CRUCIAL TALKS ON KASHMIR**

(From Our Correspondent)

Despite what is appearing to the contrary in the Press, it may be taken for granted that Prime Minister Nehru's talks with American Secretary of State Dean Rusk and British Commonwealth Secretary Duncan Sandys are on Kashmir. They are obviously here because no progress could be made in Indo-Pak talks. That is also clear from the following background.

Speaking at the annual dinner of the International Relations Society of Karachi University on April 16, Pakistan Foreign Minister Bhutto told the West to make any further arms assistance to India conditional on a settlement of the Kashmir dispute. Otherwise, he said, Pakistan would be driven to the point of taking a crucial decision with far-reaching consequences to the West's network of regional military alliances. The present situation facing India, he observed, provided the best opportunity for the solution of the Kashmir issue, and "it would be the greatest tragedy of the 20th century if this opportunity is lost". The crux of the matter now was whether the present emergency aid to India should be extended to "massive long term military assistance without first insisting on a settlement of the festering Kashmir dispute".

Along with this came the news that Pakistan is broadening bridal paths into motorable roads in some areas of East Pakistan around Tripura to facilitate movement of military trucks. She is also constructing spurs on the Feni river again opposite Sabroom town in violation of the Indo-Pak Agreement of 1962, and has started patrolling some of the disputed areas between Tripura and East Pakistan. As if further to emphasise the Sino-Pak threat, China is massing troops in the vicinity of Sikkim.

Testifying before the House of Representatives Foreign Affairs Committee in behalf of President Kennedy's \$1,400 million request for military assistance, U.S. Secretary of Defence Robert McNamara said on April 8, "Political and economic factors, including India's effort to help itself and reduce the vulnerability of the sub-continent by contributing to the resolution of the India-Pakistan differences, will be given due consideration in arriving at our final recommendations to the President." This means that the warning given by the Pakistan Foreign Minister has not gone unheeded by the United States, and that on the Kashmir issue at least China and the Western Powers are of one mind. This again means that our foreign policy, based as it was on Kashmir, has been a total failure, and the country is faced with a difficult situation from which it can emerge successfully only by a compromise with Pakistan on Kashmir. It is, therefore, being hoped that every effort will be made to settle the Kashmir dispute at the next round of talks with Pakistan and that the visits of the American and British Ministers to India would not have been in vain, having

regard to what is at stake and absolutely disregarding the present lull.

AMROHA BY-ELECTION

The Amroha by-election, in which Hafiz Mohammad Ibrahim, Irrigation Minister, was pitted against Acharya Kripalani at the last moment, shows which group is dominating Congress politics. It is not for the first time that Congress is trying to exploit communalism. The Kerala example is well-known. There the Congress had atleast the excuse that Communists had to be prevented from running the Government at any cost. There is no such excuse at Amroha, where the nomination of Mr. Ibrahim is tantamount to putting a premium on communalism, because the electorate there is 35 per cent Muslim. It seems too much to hope that the Muslim voters of Amroha will not fall into the communal trap. What is considered more likely here is that the remaining 65 per cent will refuse to vote for the Muslim candidate in protest against the communal role sought to be played by the Congress.

The fact of the matter seems to be that Acharya Kripalani is all by himself a host to be reckoned with and his voice in the Lok Sabha put Congressmen to shame much more than any one else's. His criticism, more often than not, had the air of Daniel coming to judgment, and the Prime Minister's retort to him seldom stilled the vibrations of his strident censures in Parliament. That is where the shoe pinches and that is where the need lies to go so far to defeat Kripalani and to prevent his voice from being heard in Parliament. But the Congress propaganda machinery and the 35 per cent Muslim vote would appear to be heavy odds against the constituency recording a vote of censure on Congress tactics.

Characterising the move as "political expediency of the most despicable character", a paper asks, "Where have the secular ideals, which the Prime Minister is never tired of preaching, evaporated?" At a time when the popularity of the Congress is at a low ebb, efforts have to be redoubled to retain or capture seats for the Congress. But what is to be said of people who will not record their convictions at the polling booths, or who, having them, will not try to share them with their fellow citizens?

Rajaji has, in his own inimitable way, thrown his weight in favour of Acharya Kripalani, through a letter in the leading dailies of the land. He has aptly summed up Congress tactics as "contemptible strategy". Whether his appeal to the voters of Amroha will have the desired effect remains to be seen. In any freedom-loving land it would have been a clincher. It is being said here that a factor which may sway even the Muslim voters of Amroha to vote for Kripalani is that Mr. Ibrahim has nothing to lose by being defeated, and, in the circumstances, moral considerations might well outweigh

communal bias and political prejudice. The foremost thing is to teach the people to give expression to their honest convictions at the polling booth, without which elections constitute a mere farce. That they cannot do so even secretly is a measure of their cowardice, which has got to be rooted out.

OFFICIAL LANGUAGES BILL

In the Rajya Sabha debate on the Official Languages Bill, the DMK leader, Mr. C. N. Annadurai, warned the Congress Party that his party would start a "relentless" agitation against the imposition of Hindi on the South. The constitution must be amended, he said, to provide for the use of English indefinitely and he urged the Home Minister to withdraw the Bill. As he said, and as should be clear to all, the Bill would give a permanent advantage to the Hindi-speaking people over those who do not know the language, and he went so far as to say that on the solution of the language problem depended the political future of South India. Few can really question his statement that the Bill did not incorporate the Prime Minister's assurance that English would continue to be the official language so long as the non-Hindi-speaking people wanted. This, it is generally believed here, has happened because the Prime Minister's favourites are mostly of his own province and have carried the day to the extent of whittling down his assurance to non-Hindi-speaking people.

"The entire South," Mr. Annadurai observed, "will revolt against the Bill, whatever happens." He did not subscribe to the view that one of India's languages could become the common language and claimed that those who understand the significance of the Hindi menace were with him. What is disturbing is that those who do not yet understand the significance of the Hindi menace can be easily made to understand it, and that is what appears to have been overlooked.

Few will agree with the Home Minister's contention that what mattered was not the language of the law but "who implements it and how it is implemented". Surely, the language of the law should be clear beyond all doubt so that even those who do not want to implement it may be made to implement it. Unity and solidarity of the country are supreme, as he said, and it is to maintain them at all costs that absolute justice and fairplay should be the basis of such an important measure. If Hindi is not to be imposed on the non-Hindi-speaking people, the latter, it is clear, should have the deciding voice on the use of Hindi, otherwise there is no sense in saying that there is no desire to impose Hindi on any one.

If the standard of English is deteriorating, as it certainly is, it is the fault of the teachers and the educational system, and efforts should be made to remedy the same, particularly as the importance of English is not sought to be minimised in any responsible quarter. Mr. Sastri asserted with confidence that "the future of this country is not with Mr. Frank Anthony but with Seth Govind Das". That remains to be seen. Prophecies in such matters are often mere wishful thinking. What is being forgotten is that the use of Hindi as the official language con-

stitutes an injustice to non-Hindi-speaking people and is even against the Preamble to the Constitution which guarantees equality to all. It is in that injustice that the danger lies.

Book Review

THE AMERICAN DEMOCRACY: A Commentary And An Interpretation By Harold J. Laski, George Allen and Unwin, London, Pp. 761 35s.

Those who are acquainted with the works of Professor Laski in previous years (like *Liberty in the Modern State*, *Authority in the Modern State*, *Grammar of Politics*, *Political Thought in England*, *Communism*, *Democracy in Crisis* and others like them) need not be told that this book on American Democracy that he wrote during the Second World War (when European Civilisation was at death grips with Nazi and Fascist totalitarianism with Russia on the Western side) should be regarded as essential reading for students of current world politics. Indeed, thoughtful citizens outside the ranks of students and politicians as well should read this assessment of American culture and civilisation made by Professor Laski. As he wrote, the Allies became triumphant and America emerged as the leading world power. And it became a matter of urgent concern for all humanity as to how this colossus of industrial and military power would use its position of world power, not only vis-a-vis Soviet Russia which rose to meet it as almost an equal on the world stage but to lead the world to perpetual peace and peaceful progress.

America achieved abundance by a variety of fortunate circumstances and opportunities worked upon with enthusiasm by the vast elite of European adventure and stamina who poured in millions into the land of opportunity for over a century and a half.

Professor Laski gives an attractive picture in his eloquent, racy manner, of the way in which American man rose to the occasion — cleared the jungle, conquered nature, advanced technology by an unparalleled enthusiasm and built a vast, hospitable, good natured open society from sea to sea — all on the basis of private enterprise. But now the question is whether this pace can be maintained and the contentment of the common man can be kept up without an ever increasing measure of equality in the good things of life.

The promise of equality contained in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution has to be fulfilled.

Professor Laski as a socialist is convinced that it cannot be done on the old philosophy of distrust of the State and private enterprise.

He gives a very vivid picture of the various phases of American civilisation from this angle. We can all profit from it without agreeing with the socialist philosophy of Laski which is today under re-examination in his Fabian England itself.

For us in India, it is full of suggestive counsel, more where we disagree than where we can agree. It is a lesson in nation-building.

—M. A. Venkata Rao

The Mind of the Nation

CHARACTER CLEARANCE

From what one hears in New Delhi on good authority, Mr. Malaviya's name figures more than once in the account books of Serajuddin and Co. The Government owe it to the people to clear the cloud of corruption which perhaps unjustifiably envelops Mr. Malaviya and others and may soon enlarge into a thundercloud. Here is no question of "character assassination" as the Prime Minister dubs it but of "character clearance." Can the Prime Minister ignore that there were contacts between Serajuddin and Mr. Malaviya from at least 1957 (when the Rs. 10,000 deal took place) down to 1963 (when Serajuddin wrote a letter to Mr. Malaviya in regard to the application of Shamsuddin for a barter deal) and that circumstances force one to believe that to a lesser or greater degree both benefited by such contracts?

The Prime Minister has travelled a long way since August 1947. In those early years he was scrupulous in setting a high standard of ministerial rectitude as the resignations of Mr. Shanmukhum Chetty and later of Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari, neither of whom was guilty of any moral lapse in the course of his ministerial duties, which are normally enforced in countries with parliamentary traditions, proved. These rigid standards, it would seem, no longer hold.

—Frank Moraes in 'Indian Express'

News & Views

PEKING ATTACK ON INDIA THROUGH BURMA POSSIBLE

Washington, — Senior officials are placing fresh emphasis on the continuing threat of renewed Chinese attacks on India and the burden this imposes on New Delhi in testimony before Congressional committees.

Appearing before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Mr. Chester Bowles, Ambassador-designate to India, drew the committee's attention to the possibility of Peking utilizing an easier invasion route — through Burma.

This reflected the view of U.S. military strategists that the easiest route for a massive Chinese attack is through the shorter and less mountainous terrain of North Burma thus sidestepping the obstacles imposed by the high Himalayan ranges on military transport.

This would be the same route used by the Japanese and would enable supplies to be carried by truck over the kind of road constructed during World War II to help supply the Chinese forces.

For obvious diplomatic reasons, Mr. Bowles did not mention Burma by name, but his meaning was clear when he said India could defend herself against attack through the Himalayas but was more vulnerable "if attacked through South Asia."

Mr. Bowles also pointed out that East Pakistan lay in the path of invasion and so India and Pakistan would have to work together to defend the area adequately.

U.S. NOT TYING ARMS AID TO KASHMIR ISSUE RUSK'S ASSURANCE TO PRIME MINISTER

The U. S. Secretary of State, Mr. Dean Rusk, assured

Mr. Nehru that the United States was not trying to make Western military aid to India contingent on a Kashmir settlement.

But at the time he pleaded for a Kashmir settlement on the ground that it was vital for the defence of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent. The United States, he said, saw the Chinese threat to the sub-continent as a whole, not to India alone.

Mr. Rusk met Mr. Nehru for nearly two hours in the Prime Minister's teak-panelled chamber at Parliament House today to discuss the broad political concepts of India's defence effort against the Chinese threat.

He was fully convinced that the Chinese were out to humiliate and weaken India by every possible means. Though it seemed quite uncertain and even improbable that the Chinese would attack India again in the near future, he did not want this country to run any risk by under-estimating the Chinese capacity for deceit and treachery.

GLOBAL PERSPECTIVE

But American officialdom tends to look at the Chinese threat to India in a much larger context. While discussing the short-term and long-term aspects of the Chinese threat to India, Mr. Rusk is reported to have viewed the problem in its global perspective of not only outright Chinese expansionism but also in terms of the internal tensions of the communist world.

BRITAIN'S NEED FOR NUCLEAR ARMOURY

LONDON, May 3: Sir Winston Churchill said today that for Britain to abandon the policy of having a nuclear armoury ultimately under her own national control would be to embark on a course of great perils.

In a message to the annual meeting of the Conservative organisation, the Primrose League, Sir Winston said:

"Without our nuclear shield, our defence is forever committed to our friends, and our counsels in the alliance, which have for so long been those of moderation and peace, would diminish greatly in weight.

"I do not advocate the spreading about of nuclear arms, but this country has an unequalled record of responsibility in international affairs. These deadly weapons are safer in our hands than in any other.

"Sometimes in the past we have committed the folly of throwing away our arms. Under the mercy of providence and at great cost and sacrifice we have been able to recreate them when the need arose, but if we abandoned our nuclear deterrent there will be no such second chance.

"To abandon it now would be to abandon it for ever."

KMT INVITED TO DELHI TALKS ON COTTON

An invitation has been set to the Kuomintang Government to send a delegation to the International Cotton Advisory Commission to be held in Delhi.

This was confirmed by the Government in the Lok Sabha today.

Replying to Mr. P. R. Chakraverti, the Deputy Minister for External Affairs Mr. Dinesh Singh, however, said that there was no basis for reports that India was to resume diplomatic relations with the Koumintang Government.

Mr. Tyagi asked whether there were any trade relations between India and Koumingtang. Mr. Singh replied: "Not that I know of."

CALL TO LIFT BAN ON DALAI LAMA

NEW DELHI:

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, two M.Ps, Mr. N. G. Ranga and Mr. Nath Pai and seven others, including educationists and editors, have called for the removal of the "ban" on Dalai Lama's participation in political activity.

In a joint statement released here by the Tibet Swaraj Committee, they said: "Whatever the future nature of the political setup of Tibet which must reflect the democratic will of the Tibetan people and in determining which there should be no outside interference, there is no gainsaying the fact that the Dalai Lama is today in a unique position to proclaim the political purposes of the Tibetan people and address their outraged feelings to the conscience of mankind."

The statement added: "It is, therefore, inconceivable and intolerable that the Dalai Lama should not be allowed freedom of speech and activity in our country to help in the task of unmasking the crude camouflage of the so-called programme of reform and modernisation under which the Chinese have pursued a militant and inhuman policy in Tibet."

GOVERNMENT PRESS MONOPOLY

Black-market capitalism, which was able to plough financial capital into a newspaper, was developing monopolistic tendencies in the name of socialism and affecting the small newspapers, declared Mr. A. D. Mani, participating in the Rajya Sabha debate on the Finance Bill.

"A small newspaper will not be very happy if its circulation is extinguished by the 'Patriot' just because the knife which killed it was marked a socialist knife," Mr. Mani said. He added: "It is only marked, it is not a real socialist knife. I do hope that the Government will give some attention to this matter."

Mr. Mani said he went through the Link, published the day the budget was announced. It had a photograph of Mr. Morarji Desai and on the last page, the list of the shareholders of the Link. "I would like all of you to read and see the composition of the shareholders of the Link magazine. I did not find any trade unionist there."

"I did not find some chap working in a cotton textile mill earning Rs. 90 appearing there as a shareholder. All of them are from big business. Big business people find socialism another diversionary form of earning money, namely by investing money in newspapers."

Referring to the Government sanctioning newsprint for the "Patriot" for 25,000 copies, Mr. Mani said: "I do not think that the Minister of Information and Broadcasting or the Prime Minister who sent a message to this publication, realised what they were doing in supporting this eight-nayaise newspaper."

"But there is as much big business as 'The Indian Express' or 'The Times of India' is. It gives me no pleasure to say that I have been killed by somebody who called himself a socialist. If it is socialism there should be employees' participation in the management. How many employees are

participating in the management of the 'Patriot?' Who are all the socialists behind the 'Patriot?' I find that among those who contributed to the Link is a person who had been caught in the Lakshmi Bank fraud case in Nagpur. He is one of the important shareholders of the Link. Is there any difference between what we find in the Vivian Bose Commission's report, or Shri Shanti Prasad Jain's doings and the doings of these people who are supporting the Patriot? I do want the Government which stands for socialism to support the genuine forces of socialism and these pseudo forces of Socialism the Government should not support."

STEPS TO IMPROVE ENGLISH TEACHING

POONA, May 2.

An experts' committee appointed by the Board of Secondary Education to suggest steps to make secondary education more effective and fruitful has in its report pointed out that English is the biggest stumbling block for the students and "unless something is done to improve English, secondary education cannot be made effective."

The report which will be discussed by the board at its meeting here on Friday and Saturday has suggested that there should be one period for conversation in English in the time-table from Standards V to XI.

It has also stated that "the products of secondary education — SSC-passed candidates — do not adequately serve the purpose for which they are meant." They are found wanting both by their employers and the university authorities.

C. R. DEMANDS CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT

MADRAS, May 2: Mr. C. Rajagopalachari said here today that those opposing the Languages Bill were quite aware that, if it were withdrawn, "the constitutional provision that English should make way for Hindi in 1965 would be the unavoidable consequence."

Mr. Rajagopalachari said:

"We object to the fraud practised on the non-Hindi people in the shape of this Bill which simply puts off the evil day and wants people to forget the assurance as something which has merged in the Bill. What is not to be forgotten is that it gives power and incentive to the Central executive to introduce from now onwards the steady replacement of English by Hindi by pinpricks and harassments on those working in and being recruited to Central departments from among non-Hindi people."

"What we insist on is a genuine fulfilment of the Prime Minister's assurance in the shape of a constitutional amendment without which it cannot be honestly fulfilled."

MALAVIYA TOLD TO QUIT CABINET

The resignation of Mr. K. D. Malaviya, Minister for Mines and Fuel, was demanded in the Rajya Sabha by Mr. M. S. Gurupadaswamy, the PSP leader, from Mysore.

Speaking on the Finance Bill, Mr. Gurupadaswamy said public opinion had gone against Mr. Malaviya because of his affairs with Messrs. Serajuddin and Company and he should gracefully resign.

To continue in the Cabinet, he said, would be "to remain in power without honour."

Mr. Gurupadaswamy also asked for a judicial inquiry into the Serajuddin affairs.

BERLIN ENACTED ON INDIAN BORDER

LONDON, May 4.

The Sino-Indian border is one of the "live boundaries" between the free and communist worlds and, in its own interest, the free world must do everything to help India, a paper circulated at the Conservative Commonwealth Council's annual conference here said today.

The paper was issued by the council's India-Pakistan-Ceylon group. It said that Mr. Nehru, "with his pro-Chinese policy," had been trying to keep the border issue quiet, "like that between Russia and Finland."

"What the Chinese have now done is to turn it into a live boundary, like Berlin," the paper said.

After reviewing the causes of India's non-alignment policy and the events since the Chinese attack, the paper said there were two ways in which India could be helped "to meet the strain."

"First, it can be provided with whatever weapons are needed on lend-lease or free. Secondly, the general provision of foreign exchange for the economy can be increased."

"FIRST ENEMY"

"It is not necessary for India to become a western ally," the paper said, "It is necessary for Mr. Nehru not to take too many actively pro-communist lines because of the effect it has on western electorates and back-benchers."

The paper said that, "any major threat to India must be a threat to Pakistan, too. If the Chinese break through in the Sikkim-Bhutan area, they will be in Pakistan a few miles and East Pakistan may be very vulnerable."

"The free world's boundaries on the Himalayas must be defended. However good Pakistan's claims to Srinagar, one must recognise that large concessions are not easy for India at the moment, especially after Pakistan's conspicuously unfriendly behaviour.

One must not be too certain that even large concessions will solve the problem. The true Pakistan objection to India may be not that India has Kashmir, which is soluble, but that India is bigger, which is not." — A.F.P.

AMERICAN TEAM CONQUERS EVEREST

KATHMANDU, May 2.

A two-man assault team of the American Everest expedition ascended the 29,028-foot peak at 1 p.m. 2 May as scheduled.

It was not immediately known who the two climbers were. This is the third time that the world's highest peak has been scaled.

It was first climbed on May 29, 1953, by Tenzing Norgay and Edmund Hillary. In 1956, a Swiss team reached it.

The expedition, led by Mr. Norman Dyhrenfurth (45), set out from Kathmandu for Namche Bazar on February 20. Mr. Dyhrenfurth was a member of the team that scaled Dhaulagiri in 1960.

The expedition is sponsored by the American Mount Everest Foundation.

The U.S. Government economic assistance to India — now totals is \$4,880.1 million (Rs. 2,323.9). This updates the earlier Fact Sheet dated December 18, 1962. No military items are included in these figures.

U.S. AID TO INDIA

The U.S. aid programme covers almost all facets of India's all-round economic development. Of the total U.S. aid, Rs. 1,101.1 crores is in the form of loans repayable in rupees; Rs. 353.8 crores is repayable in dollars over a period of 40 years at no interest but with a service charge of 3/4 of 1 percent; and Rs. 632.5 crores has been given to India in the form of outright grants. Loans repayable in rupees can be used again as loans.

MOSCOW ADMITS POSSIBILITY OF DEFEAT

Washington, May 4 (AP)—The Soviet Union has now admitted for the first time the possibility of defeat in war, an Air Force analyst concludes on the basis of a study of Russian military writings.

Further, he says, the Soviet high command is apparently divided over strategy in this age of missiles and hydrogen warheads.

Lt. Col. Murray Green, Associate Chief of Research and Analysis, U.S. Air Force, reached these conclusions in a 270-page, type-written analysis of the first comprehensive discourse on military doctrine to appear in the Soviet Union since 1926.

Col. Green's report was made at the request of Mr. Herbert Sholar, Senior Civilian Analyst in the Plans Division of Air Force Intelligence.

Dear Editor

MONOPOLISTS, MINISTERS AND BACHELORS—THE ONLY HAPPY PEOPLE THESE DAYS

Which class of society is happy these days when the prices and taxes are going up, crimes and sins are multiplying, corruption and nepotism are increasing, adulteration and cheating are common and poverty and unemployment are rampant? Nobody, whether he is a business man, a lawyer, a teacher, an officer or a doctor, seems to be happy as each one of them is saddled with problems such as housing, food, clothing, health, finance, education of the children and the like. A person who has never to encounter such difficulties at one time or the other is very fortunate. But he would surely find insurmountable difficulties at the time of marrying his children which has become a costly affair nowadays. Mostly marriages are managed by incurring colossal debts which in the later stage becomes difficult to liquidate and brings catastrophe to the family. Monopolist capitalists and ministers who enjoy wide facilities, are, no doubt, free from these problems and are leading a happy life. To these happy sections of society we can safely add the bachelor class.

A bachelor does not feel any incidence of taxation. He is carefree in this worried world. He can fulfil most of his

desires within his resources as he has no financial difficulty. He can undertake frequent travels and Digitized by eGangotri Foundation Hindi and Sanskrit India and reduce them to the status of second class citizens, subject to the imperial rule of the Hindi people, and will give a deadly blow to national integration and should, therefore, be abandoned immediately before further mischief is done.

He requires comparatively little housing accommodation. Unfortunately a person who has a big family to support is not so privileged. Everyone in the society, is hard pressed these days and his saving capacity is almost nil. A bachelor is respected by all the people wherever he goes as he is financially well and probably because he can lend money to needy people without any difficulty. Great leaders like Mr. C. B. Gupta, Chief Minister of U.P. have advocated bachelor's life for this critical time when the price index is touching new peaks. The root cause of most of the evils in the society at present is money. But a bachelor is free from this problem. This life is, therefore, the best life these days.

R. K. SRIVASTAVA

'Lakshmi Nivas',
25, Motinagar,
Unnao

MR. B. LOTVALA'S REMARKABLE CAREER

We have read the biography of Mr. Bhavan Lotvala by I. K. Yagnik. His remarkable career of struggle for freedom of the oppressed and downtrodden masses of India and the world is truly inspiring and it is good to know that you are carrying on his great work.

Sam Weiner
Esther J. Weiner

RETENTION OF ENGLISH AS THE OFFICIAL LANGUAGE OF THE INDIAN UNION

The adoption of any single regional language as the official language, main or associate, of the Indian Union is bound to inflict a severe, permanent and inescapable handicap on Indians with other regional languages. It is, therefore, undesirable that Hindi, which is a regional language, should be adopted, much less imposed, as the main or even the associate Union language.

The English language has served admirably as the all-India language of higher and modern administration and education, particularly in science and technology, as the link language for national and international communications, and as the potent instrument of national integration, and it should, therefore, be continued indefinitely as the one and only language to serve the same high purposes, and not be made the victim of transitory or tapering toleration.

The adoption of two languages, Hindi and English, whatever be their relative status, for the official purposes of the Indian Union and the regional languages within their regions will only lead to unnecessary confusion and expense, which should, therefore, be avoided. All communications which transcend the boundaries of linguistic regions should be conducted in the common all-India language, English.

The elevation of Hindi over and above the other regional languages and the refusal to give English even the lower status of an associate

language, offered earlier, is calculated to alienate the people of India and reduce them to the status of second class citizens, subject to the imperial rule of the Hindi people, and will give a deadly blow to national integration and should, therefore, be abandoned immediately before further mischief is done.

The argument that the Indian Constitution had given Hindi the permanent status of the Official language is unconvincing, for the Constitution has been amended repeatedly, and even the Fundamental Rights, which are not meant to be amended, have been amended, and amended to make them less fundamental, and the provision regarding the Official language is not among the Fundamental Rights, and can be amended without any compunction. In any event, the Constitution is for the people, and not the people for the Constitution.

The argument that English is a "foreign" language is invalid. Mr. Nehru, in his speech in Hyderabad on December 8, 1955, said that English should have been included in the Eighth Schedule of the Indian Constitution, "not only because of its intrinsic and current value and the number of people in India who used it, but also because it was the mother-tongue of the Anglo-Indians, who are Indian Nationals".

Speaking in Bhopal on March 3, 1963, Mr. Nehru said that Hindi could not be adopted at the Centre as the medium of official work, but it was all right in Hindi-speaking areas.

V. P. Menon, former Governor of Orissa.

N. Madhava Rau, former Dewan of Mysore.

N. A. Nikam, former Vice-Chancellor, Mysore University.

K. N. Nagarkatti, I. C. S. Retd.

C. S. Venkatachar, I.C.S. Retd.

Mahmood Sheriff, former Minister, Government of Mysore.

P. Medappa, former Chief Justice, High Court of Mysore.

B. V. Narayana Reddi, former General Manager, Bank of Mysore.

Mrs. Indiramma, former Mayor, Corporation of the City of Bangalore.

T. L. Kantam, Journalist.

D. V. Gundappa, Publicist.

V. T. Sreenivasan, former Accountant-General and General Secretary Mysore State Swatantra Party.

K. S. Menon

V. Gopalaswami Aiyangar, former Principal, National College, Bangalore.

K. Bhaskara Rao, Representative, World University Service.

B. K. Ramadhyani, Chartered Accountant.

P. Kodanda Rao, Publicist.

LIBERTARIAN SOCIAL INSTITUTE BANGALORE

April, 26: Prof. M. A. Venkata Rao reviewed Prof. Harold J. Laski's "American Democracy" at Book-Review meeting.

GIFT OF THE MONTH

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4. The Causes of Business Depression by Hugo & Blligram.
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8. Dialectical Materialism by Philip Spratt.

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ANNOUNCEMENT

We have a few back issues of "Freeman" a monthly journal published by the Foundation for Economic Education, U.S.A. They are available free on request to us. Requests for copies should be accompanied with 15 nP. stamps.

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IN THIS ISSUE

EDITORIAL :	Page
Bread or Socialism?	2
Collective Responsibility By M. A. Venkata Rao	5
The Mysterious Rajkot Fast By M. N. Tholal	7
Ralph Borsodi: Man of Action By Mildred J. Loomis	9
DELHI LETTER :	
The Indo-Pak Tug of War	10
Book-Review	11
The Mind of the Nation	12
News and Views	12
Dear Editor	15

PRICE
25
NAYA PAISA

EDITORIAL**BREAD OR SOCIALISM?**

OUR Planners appear to be more interested in saving scarce foreign exchange than saving human life. The near famine conditions in Bengal, Assam and Orissa have not in the least unnerved their stout socialist hearts. Their callous refusal to import foodgrains from abroad even in this emergency, evidently shows that they would rather have the people starve and die for want of adequate food-supply in the country rather than see their way to suitably alter or adjust their Plans which require massive expenditure on capital—intensive heavy industry to the great detriment of the vital agricultural sector. The Planners and the Central Finance Ministry are reported to have taken up not a kindly attitude towards the proposal of the hardheaded and practical Food Minister Mr. S. K. Patil that the Indian Government should enter into a fresh P.L. 480 Agreement with U.S.A. to overcome the food crisis facing the country and to enable the Government to maintain a buffer stock of foodgrains against future contingencies. After much pressure and great persuasive efforts, the Union Cabinet and the Planners have, it seems, fortunately for the people in scarcity areas, agreed to authorise the Food Minister to explore the possibilities for at least the import of rice under a fresh P.L. 480 Agreement. And Mr. S. K. Patil is already on his way to U.S.A. for the purpose.

The food crisis that confronts our country today is, in fact, man-made or rather 'planned'. Ideological aberrations of the Government have got not a little to do with it. Under the P.L. 480 Agreement concluded in 1960, sixteen million tons of wheat and one million tons of rice were to be imported into India during a period expiring in 1964. The Agreement was made to meet the difficult situation that prevailed in agriculture in the country, particularly in respect of the production of foodgrains. Secondly it was thought at that time that with this supply of food-grains under the Agreement, India Government would be in a position to stabilise the price line and step up food production in the country. But what the Government has achieved so far, is not stabilisation of prices but the stabilisation, nay, complete stagnation of food production at the level it had reached in 1960-61, when the Deal was made. This disgraceful performance of the Government and the Planning Commission in the agricultural sector has now given rise to a bitter controversy and mutual mud-slinging between the Food Ministry and Planning Commission.

Evidently the blame for this debacle can be squarely put more on the Planners than on the Food Minister and his immediate colleagues. The

time has therefore come for the Planners to re-think and revise their ideas on the subject. Particularly they should consider why under the First Five Year Plan, the country had achieved wellnigh self-sufficiency in food and why this success could not be maintained under the Second and Third Plans. The regularity and irregularity of monsoons alone could not account for the widely differing results of the Plans. In our opinion the real distinction clearly lies in the practical and economic approach of the First Plan and the unrealistic ideological approach of the Socialist Plans. The latter have all but killed local initiative and leadership in the countryside. The useful and good work of supplying to the actual cultivator in time, seeds, fertilisers and credit, done by the well-to-do peasant-proprietors and private investors from non-rural areas in agricultural industry, has now been completely paralysed under the impact of Socialist Planning and the Government agencies, Community Projects and so-called co-operatives have not been able to fill the gap created in this field, with even half the efficiency with which same work was being done privately by villagers themselves. Moreover, the ill-conceived tenancy legislation and so-called land-reforms aiming at the extinction of the self-employed peasant class have only turned the once smiling fields and pastures into dreary deserts and barren wastes.

It is therefore no wonder that food crisis has become a recurring phenomenon under Socialist Planning. We are going through the same bitter experience that Russia and China have had on the food front, even after decades of Socialist experimentation with agricultural industry. It will be therefore hoping against hope that our Government will draw the right conclusion from the experience of these Socialist countries and the present debacle in India that agriculture is essentially an individualistic and private enterprise and refuses to yield an inch of ground in this respect, even to the threats and blandishments of Socialist Planners and that no stabilisation of prices is possible through the means of State-Trading in food-grains and Government-sponsored Co-operatives. The prices refuse to stabilise themselves that way. They are already soaring up. Food is dear and sugar is scarce and people are on the verge of starvation.

But our Government, even in the midst of this crisis is harping on the same old and weary tune of food self-sufficiency and undesirability of importing food-grains from other countries. This rigid attitude bears out the truth contained in the sharp criticism directed against India's Planning by economists like Mr. P. T. Bauer who wrote: 'It is not impossible that they (Planners) might be prepared to run the risk of starvation in the

country rather than moderate. ^{Delivered by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and Gangotri}
The chances of Governmental Planning succeeding in increasing food-production and fulfilling the target of 100 million tons of foodgrain by 1965-66 fixed by the Third Plan are extremely remote and very poor indeed!

Under the circumstances, one cannot get away from the feeling that the Government has deliberately posed before the people the question: BREAD OR SOCIALISM? The reply of the people, of course, is and will ever be in favour of BREAD, whether produced and procured within the country or imported from without. After all human life is any day more precious than ideological smugness of Socialist Planners.

TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY

The question of India's territorial integrity has been agitating the minds of the Indian people for some time now. The Naga rebellion and the revolt of the Adivasis in some regions had already brought this question to the fore. The D.M.K. movement in the Madras State for a separate Dravidnad made it incumbent on the part of the Government and our national leaders to look more closely into this trend which is sowing the seeds of national disruption and disunity. The emergency declared by the Government and extra-ordinary powers assumed by it during the period, had of course a sobering influence on such disruptionist movements but the fire of secessionism is all the same smouldering underground and is sure to flare up once again when emergency declared by the Government comes to an end.

To meet this situation, the Parliament has recently adopted the Bill amending Article 19 of the Constitution which prohibits any act that advocates secession from the Union territory. But it is obvious that this legislative measure alone will not be enough for fulfilling its aims and objects unless it be supported by effective educational propaganda to makes the people realise the dangerous implications of this cult of separatism.

Side by side with this propaganda, the Government will be well advised to ascertain the root cause of this separationist demand and the forces that tend to reinforce it. The Government and leaders should in the first place shed off their self-complacency in this matter. They must boldly accept the fact, however ugly it may be, that India is not yet a fullfledged nation but only a nation in the making. So they must scrupulously avoid saying or doing anything which might retard the slow process of nation-building going on in India right up from the British times.

In this connection we should not forget that the Britishers have left us a rich legacy of sound systems of administration and education which have, in a great measure, created amongst us a sort of loosely moulded national consciousness.

But unfortunately this heritage is being simply wasted and even destroyed by our rulers, steeped as they are even now after fifteen years of independence, in their anti-British ideas of the pre-freedom days.

The time is not yet lost for our rulers to do some constructive thinking on this problem of national territorial integrity. The unity of mind and heart forged among the Indian people by the British through a powerful cadre of educated Indians should be carefully nursed and further cemented by giving English its dominant place in education and administration and speedily enlarging this cadre of English-educated intelligentsia throughout the country. The next step will be to remove as far as it is practicable, the imbalances in economic and industrial growth among the different regions of India so as to cut at the very root of the separationist demand which nurses itself on such grievances, real or exaggerated. Above all, the present personal rule of Ministers and their agents prevailing in the country should be substituted by the impersonal 'Rule of Law' so that the scramble for political power raging fiercely from the Centre down to the village level might be reduced to the minimum. This calls for a genuine decentralisation of political and economic power so as to divert the attention of the local leaders from power politics to real public service.

These evils, economic, political and administrative having been removed from our body-politic

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tic, chauvinistic regional leaders will feel the ground slipping from under their feet and even if at that stage, they should still choose to indulge in their harmful separatist activities for personal aggrandisement, the Government would then be able to put them down with a heavy hand, with popular sanction and support.

But the pre-condition for such a happy summation is that the Government should first put its house in order by purging it of self-seeking politicians who place their own interests above those of the nation.

THE CONGRESS PRESIDENT BECOMES A "FELLOW-TRAVELLER"

Mr. Sanjivayya Reddi the Congress President has now openly confirmed the strong suspicions and fears of all Indian patriots that under the present leadership, Congress is slowly but surely marching into the camp of 'Fellow-Travellers'. In a speech at Hyderabad he stated: "The Communist Party of India is no more a threat or challenge to the Congress" and that the real threat was "from the Right reaction." This statement is an indication of the extent to which the Communist infiltration tactics have corroded the Congress organisation from within and of how they have not left even the tallest Congressmen untouched.

The one common feature which brings Congressmen and Communists closer to each other day by day, seems to be Power-Politics. When a Communist speaks of socialism, he means only concentration of all power, political and economic into the hands of the Government run by the Communist Party. This part of the Communist programme appears to have appealed greatly to the imagination of power-seeking Congress politicians like Sanjivayya Reddi. And so they are now badly wanting the Congress to move in the direction of capturing totalitarian power for itself in the country. It therefore logically follows that in the eyes of Congressmen whoever supports power-politics is 'Leftist' and whoever is opposed to it and stands for the political and economic freedom of the individual is a "Rightist Reactionary". The people's welfare does not come into the picture at all in this game of power-politics.

But the people cannot be fooled for all times. They now know that the Rightists are only a threat to the Congress but not to the Nation. The Rightists, valiantly fighting as they are, for 'Plenty and Prosperity' to the majority of the population 'through individual freedom, democracy and free economy,' can alone save the country from the present mess into which the country has been brought by the misguided totalitarian, pro-communist policies of the Congress Government.

KRIPALANI AND LOHIA TRIUMPH OVER CONGRESS REACTION

As we go to the press, the happiest news of the year has reached us that the veteran national

leader, Acharya Kripalani and the indomitable Socialist leader Ram Manohar Lohia have come out triumphantly in the bitterly contested by-elections to the Parliament from Amroha and Farrukhabad constituencies of U. P. and they defeated their nearest Congress rival candidate by overwhelming majority vote of 49,445 and 57,588 respectively. Both these successful candidates have been carrying on a relentless fight against the the present pusillanimous and disastrous policies of Prime Minister Nehru and his Government in regard to Tibet, Sino-Indian conflict and foreign affairs. This vote cast in favour of these national patriots clearly points out which way the political wind is blowing in regions like U. P. whose Northern borders are directly menaced by the Chinese hordes and bandits.

By setting up Hafiz Ibrahim against the Acharya, the Congress leaders had perhaps thought of retrieving their position in the country lost in consequence of the disgraceful NEFA defeats, by enlisting the communal support of Muslims who formed a pretty large percentage of the electorate in the Amroha constituency. Both these constituencies were almost invaded by the Central Ministers and Congress leaders during the election time. But the iron had entered into the souls of the countrymen after the national humiliation at the hands of the foreign enemy. So no amount of Congress tomfoolery and Nehru's demagoguery could convince the people of the correctness of Congress policies of 'Bhai-Bhaism' formulated jointly by Mr. Nehru and Mr. Menon and imposed on the country with disastrous results and consequences. The victory, we should think, is the beginning of Nemesis that awaits the Congress so self-hypnotised and deluded by its egoism and complacency.

Hail the venerable Acharya and the Socialist leader on their resounding victory over Congress reaction! May their thumping election success usher in an era of Liberal-Democratism in India, now lying almost prostrate at the feet of Congress totalitarianism!

—D. M. Kulkarni.

FOOD FOR THOUGHT

The Socialists believe in two things which are absolutely different and perhaps contradictory: freedom and organisation.

—Elie Halevy.

It is significant that the nationalisation of thought has proceeded everywhere paripassu with the nationalisation of industry.

—E. H. Carr.

"The battle of Waterloo might have been won on the playing fields of Eton but the battle of NEFA was lost by the back room boys of Krishna Menon."

—Frank Moraes (Indian Express)

COLLECTIVE RESPONSIBILITY

BY M. A. VENKATA RAO

National consciousness is no doubt necessary, but it should develop in all its dimensions. For this purpose our leaders should state clearly our social objectives. Only such action in a collective way will generate a sense of collective responsibility in which all citizens have a share and an opportunity for service.

DURING the days of British rule, collective fines were sometimes levied on whole towns as a punishment for rioting and collective attack against other collectivities such as hostile communities in a neighbouring locality. Punitive taxes were also imposed for the same reason.

The basis for such punishment lies in the belief that whole cities or towns and large groups of people distinguishable as communities by religion or other mark constitute **single entities** like individual personalities.

Municipal corporations and joint stock companies, trusts, partnerships, registered societies and such like have also a similar legal status as distinct personalities that can act and be acted upon, sue and be sued against. They possess **legal personality**.

Similarly towns that are punished are regarded as possessing legal personality like individual citizens.

But what is the basis for such belief? Obviously there is no single soul or mind actuating all the members of towns, cities, communities and corporations that are dealt with as personalities at law in this way.

The problem appears also in the larger context of the national life as a whole.

Writers often speak of nations as individual organic entities like individual persons with their own distinct national character.

The story is often told that when three tourists reached the top of an Alpine peak, the Frenchman threw out his hands in eloquent gesticulation all around and said "How charming! How ravishing the scenery!" and began to express his feelings by embracing his companions!

The German was silent and thoughtful and engaged himself in calculating the heights of different peaks! He betokened a scientific temper of mind as contrasted with the Frenchman's artistic and emotional temperament.

And the Englishman kept his appreciations and feelings to himself (which is not to say that he had none) and concluded "Now let us open our food baskets!"

Thinking along these lines, some observers have said that the Indian is a yogi and world renouncer who is naturally addicted to the philosophy of **maya** or world illusion!

These observations of national character are like so many cartoon-like exaggerations and indicate some characteristics of the **culture** of nations. But they do not demonstrate the existence

of any national mind as a separate and distinct existence and individuality like single individuals.

Psychologists have discussed this question of national or social or group mind. Except Hegelian philosophers, no psychologists have found conclusive evidence for believing in any such collective mind as a distinct entity analogous to the individual mind. We do not have the English mind like that of Shakespeare or Dr. Johnson nor the German mind like that of Goethe or Einstein or Bismarck. Similarly there is no evidence for the existence of an Indian Mind like that of Tagore or Gandhi, Nehru or Rama or Krishna. There is a tradition of a national mind in India under the mythological name of Lake Manas (Manassarovar in the Himalayas). But it is only a symbol of Indian ideals like the lotus or swan.

But the denial of a distinct existence corresponding to social or public or national mind (or soul) does not mean that there are no collective phenomena that need the collective influence of all members of a society to explain and that cannot be explained on the assumption of a summation of the action of individual minds taking place independently of each other.

To take the simplest instance, members of a crowd behave in ways similar to each other and differently to their ordinary selves and customary reactions, irrespective of their cultural levels. Even cultured and learned persons are often carried off their feet when they listen as part of a large audience to an eloquent orator appealing to feelings on an emotion-arousing topic like the Chinese invasion today.

Skillful orators have often led crowds to do crimes and violent acts that individually they would be ashamed to do. Members of Hindu and Muslim rioting crowds during communal disturbances and members of American whites during a Negro lynching orgy are examples of this atavistic behaviour of crowds. Crowds can also be inspired to rise higher than their ordinary selves as in patriotic rallies to contribute beyond their means to national defence funds and to join the army as recruits to fight the enemy to the detriment of their future careers. Men have been inspired to give their lives on such occasions, when defending their homelands.

These examples of collective action show, however, not the existence of collective mind but the social adaptability of human nature, in individuals dovetailing their activities together in a collective plan or pattern for a single objective. The unity lies in the objective and aim, not in

the texture of the minds. It is not necessary to assume idealists do a cosmic (or universal or spiritual) mind running through all individual minds to account for co-operative behaviour.

The Jains have a pluralistic philosophy that does not believe in an absolute spirit running through and underlying all individual empirical minds. But they postulate the mutual adaptability of individual souls and their capacity to overcome the obscuring and deluding effects of matter in which they are encased. Once the weight of matter is counter-acted, the Jains believe that perfected souls will function in perfect mutual harmony at the top of the universe.

Whatever the merits of these metaphysical theories it is clear on the practical plane in human society that there is indisputable evidence for the assumption of **collective responsibility**, even when there has not been any conscious collective planning and conscious consent on the part of individual members.

Individual members of cities and communities often protest that they should not be punished via collective fines and taxes for the misdeeds of other members of their group, local or cultural. But it is enough for law and punishment that they are members of a body and are conscious of being such!

Today, the whole Indian nation suffers for the unwisdom of the policies adopted in the years after the advent of national independence by the leaders in power. They owe responsibility for the actions of their government, because they had not the resolution, unity, wisdom and all the qualities necessary to check and to replace their rulers when they went wrong.

The nation as a whole may not have a single soul but all citizens are **interdependent** in social life from which springs their collective responsibility!

The Congress as a ruling party is next responsible as a collective body, in fact **more organised**, for the misfortunes of the nation—high taxes, maladministration, the unwisdom of socialist policy which is unmasked in the rest of the world as a failure, for no forcing Government to prepare adequately for defence, for not checking their unique leader and compelling him to take cognisance of realities etc.

More narrowly, the successive cabinets under Nehru (and Nehru himself) are more keenly and inescapably responsible, individually and collectively, for the nation's ills.

How in terms of democratic procedure, such responsibility is to be brought home to them is an urgent question on which all thoughtful citizens should bestow their best attention.

We find the same phenomena of collective responsibility in the more strictly **social** sphere as well.

We have the Naga problem unsolved on our hands from the day of independence—the 15th of August 1947 when the Naga leaders declared unambiguously that they do not accept their

India as nationals. Society as a whole showed insufficient interest in the national peril posed by the Naga intransigence. If leaders of society had agitated, obtained full information about the problem, (particularly the big daily press and political science sections of universities etc.) government could have been galvanised to act with greater despatch and effectiveness in time.

So with the question of Hindi. It has been allowed to fester year after year until it has become an apple of discord and an engine of separatism.

So with the inter-provincial river disputes which have become discord-creating issues in the hands of provincial power-mad politicians out for local influence at the cost of wider national unity.

So with the agitation of the Dravida Kazagam and Dravida Munnetra Kazagam. These movements are several decades old and have their roots in the emotional bitterness engendered by caste law and psychology which determine ranks in society with the Brahman at the top and the untouchable at the bottom or bottomless pit. The **causus belli** has disappeared with the equalitarian constitution of free India but the emotional hang-over remains buttressed by the economic backwardness of many non-brahman dravida groups. As Dr. Ambedkar declared, until caste is specifically and openly discarded in theory and practice by leaders on behalf of Hindu society as a whole today and an active movement for encouraging inter-caste marriage is got under way, the **collective responsibility** of the upper caste Hindus for all the ills of Hindu society remains irrefragable.

A collective cleansing programme for renovating Hindu society inspired by nationalism and democracy as ultimate values (subject to universal human morality) is the only way in which the collective responsibility of Hindu society can be discharged adequately and at the deepest levels. Without such a many-sided psychological programme, political platforms like those of the Hindu Mahasabha and the Jana Sangh will remain without dynamic efficacy. Jana Sangh leaders have sometimes said (some of them) that they are not sanatanists but **reformists** like the Arya Samajists. But they need to come out more fully, openly and frequently on the platform of **social reform** to back their political democracy.

National consciousness is no doubt necessary and good but such consciousness should develop in **all its dimensions** like the individual mind. And national leaders should state the social objectives and programme of reform clearly and firmly. Only such action in a collective way will generate a new sense of collective responsibility. The nation as a single mind may or may not exist. But national responsibility as collective responsibility in which all individual citizens educated and uneducated have a definite share is an inescapable reality but also an opportunity for service.

The Mysterious Rajkot Fast—II

BY M. N. JHOLAL

The Rajkot Fast unto death undertaken by Gandhiji was the ace of trumps against Subhas Chandra Bose who bade fair to take the Congress under his control. Gandhiji lost the skirmish but won the war.

On March 7 Bose presided over the AICC meeting at Tripuri. He ruled that Govind Vallabh Pant's resolution, expressing confidence in the old Working Committee and urging the President to nominate the new Committee, according to Gandhi's wishes, could not be discussed by the All-India Congress Committee. He, however, gave expression to his readiness to have it discussed by the Subjects Committee.

The annual session of the Congress opened on March 10, three days after Gandhi had broken his fast. On the second day of the session, March 11, Mr. Aney proposed that, in view of the President's health, consideration of the resolution on the clarification of the misunderstanding that had risen out of the presidential election, should be referred to the AICC for disposal at some future date. The proposal was passed by a clear majority. This was a signal for uproarious scenes. Nehru said amid interruptions: "During the last 26 years I have attended the Indian National Congress year after year. I have never seen such a scene, though I have seen many strange things." To help ease the situation Aney withdrew the resolution—after it had been passed! Pant's resolution was carried by a bare majority in the Subjects Committee. It was passed by an overwhelming majority in the open session on March 12. In the middle of March Gandhi left Rajkot, reaching Delhi on March 15 to interview the Viceroy.

Regarding whether Gandhi was being kept informed or had seen the Pant resolution, he told members of the Gandhi Seva Sangh later: "When the resolution was being discussed I was on my penitential bed in Rajkot and my mind was occupied exclusively by Rajkot matters. Some one mentioned to me that a resolution expressing confidence in the old programme was being discussed but I was unaware of the language in which it was couched. Originally, that is before Tripuri, when Subhas Babu saw me in Wardha, I told him that the most straightforward course would be to bring a no-confidence resolution, that is, if it could be discussed without passion or bitterness. That I took it was not thought possible at the Tripuri Congress and Pantji's resolution was adopted in order to avoid personalities and passion."

In short, Gandhi had wired his opinion to Subhas Bose—which he disregarded—before the presidential election. He had told Bose at Wardha that the most straightforward course for his opponents would be to bring a no-confidence motion against him in the Congress. He knew that his disciples had resigned en masse from the Congress Working Committee weeks before the session was to commence. Is it illegitimate to conclude that he knew for certain that there would be fireworks against Bose at Tripuri? Even assuming that he

was very busy with Rajkot affairs before and during his fast and had no time for trifles like the annual session of the Congress which bade fair to divide the country in two, the penitential bed on which he lay at Rajkot had ceased to be one on March 7 when he broke his fast, and there was nothing doing so far as Rajkot was concerned, the ball having been passed on to Sir Maurice Gwyer. The All-India Congress Committee met on March 7 to deal with the Pant resolution, among other matters. The annual session began on March 10 and the Pant resolution was passed in the open session on March 12. Nearly five clear days for Gandhi to intervene and send a telegram to his disciples disapproving of the undemocratic resolution. Granting he knew nothing about it, was it not part of his job to find out, at least after breaking the fast on March 7, what was going on at Tripuri? Obviously, if he did not find it out, it was because he did not want to find it out. If Bose was in trouble, it served him right. Was he not courting trouble by defying the Mahatma's humble advice?

Full many a scheme of mice and men gang aft agley. It was a well-thought out scheme, except for the time factor which miscarried a little. The Viceroy was on a tour of Rajputana States. He cut it short on receiving Gandhi's message conveying his decision to fast unto death and the promptitude with which he suggested arbitration by the Chief Justice of India cut short the period of Gandhi's fast and his stay on the "penitential bed", making it shorter than he had expected, with the result that he was free from Rajkot affairs a little earlier than he had expected and quite a few days before the Congress session began, instead, as he had perhaps expected, of the fast ending with the Congress session.

Gandhi used to say about his sub-province, Kathiawad, that it is notorious for its intrigues. In Darbar Virawalla, the Dewan of Rajkot, he seems to have met his match. On April 3 the Gwyer award was announced vindicating the interpretation put by Gandhi and Patel on the Thakore Saheb's note. The award of the Chief Justice inter alia was that the Ruler's notification restricts the members of the Reforms Committee to ten. Gandhi had given assurances to deputations of Muslims and Bhayats on February 28 and in a letter to the President of the Girasia Association on March 11 to the effect that the representatives already nominated on their behalf would certainly be included in the Committee. "In view of these assurances," wrote the Thakore Saheb, "I have no doubt that you will advise Mr. Patel to include these names in the list of seven non-official members who, in accordance with the Chief Justice of India's decision, are now to be recommended by him."

"DOUBLE GAME"

In the course of a statement on April 15 Gandhi said: "The Girasia Association has accused me in forcible language of a breach of promise in excluding my letter of March 11. I do not include their representative from the list of seven. All I can say is that they have hopelessly misread and propose at present to go into the immediate circumstances in which I hastily penned my reply to their note, but it has got to be read in conjunction with the statement with which I left Wardha, on what I have described as a mission of peace. I then stated, as an indispensable condition of the acceptance of any permutation and combination that might be offered for the composition of the Committee, that on it the Sardar's nominees should have at least a bare majority of one. The letter of March 11 has got to be read together with that conditions. Nothing whatsoever happened on March 11 to make me waive that condition. Assuming for the moment that I forgot to incorporate the condition in my letter, the Girasia friends would be expected to read my letter with the missing condition."

On April 18 Jinnah in a press statement criticised Gandhi's attitude regarding Muslim representation on the Rajkot Reforms Committee and advised Muslims to boycott it. Discussions between Gandhi and Durbar Virawalla with regard to the personnel of the Committee broke down on April 23. On the next day Gandhi wrote: "The award was acclaimed throughout India as a complete victory for the Sardar. But it has been effectively used against me for accusing me of a breach of promise to the Muslims and the Bhayats." The Bhayats wanted to refer to the Chief Justice of India the meaning of Gandhi's assurance to them and Gandhi told the people of Rajkot on May 12: "I had said the result of my fast had exceeded my expectations, but now I find that the Chief Justice's award has become a halter round my neck... The award which was tainted fruit made me impatient. It was that impatience which made me say to the Bhayats and the Muslims that I was not prepared to wait for Sir Maurice Gwyer's award on their reference, the work of the Committee must go on. There was no committee then, but impatience made me speak so... There is no doubt in my mind that the award must be renounced." The Almighty, as usual, came to his aid. "He (God) seems to be speaking to me in strident tones: 'Your victory is no victory. Throw it away'. Obviously, it was not the fear of God but of Gwyer which made him throw it away."

Apologies followed—to the Viceroy, the Chief Justice of India, the Thakore Saheb and Durbar Virawalla. "I have been guilty of playing what may be called a double game, that is, hanging the sword of the award over his head and wooing him and expecting him of his own free will to advise the Thakore Saheb to grant liberal reforms," said Gandhi. Instead of waiting on God and allowing my fast to work itself, I sought outside aid. It was a grave blunder."

But, said Mahadeo Desai, "Why not wait until Sir Maurice Gwyer gives his decision on the new reference? Let not the Mussalmans and the Bhayats have the pretext of saying that you fought shy of the Chief Justice's decision." Gandhi replied, "Why must I wait to take the right decision? I cannot await a moment's delay. I know the reference is mischievous and we must win. That might give greater value to the renunciation. But I am not renouncing the award in order that the world may acclaim the act. By no means. I am freeing myself from a terrible oppression. I have made my decision and am feeling free as a bird." He also admitted with reference to the fast: "I thought I must seek the aid of the British Government, lest I should die."

Any one can see that Gandhi's statement of April 15, reproduced above, cannot stand a moment's scrutiny, and that Sir Maurice Gwyer, or any honest judge for that matter, would have given the award in favour of the Girasias, Muslims and Bhayats and declared Gandhi guilty of breach of promise, regarding which he had said in the course of the skirmish: "Life to me becomes a burden when I find myself witness of a breach of faith as it happens to be in this case (Rajkot)," and again, "A breach of promise shakes me to my root, specially when I am in any way connected with the author of the breach." Gandhi knew what was coming and hence his refusal to accept Mahadeo Desai's advice. The renunciation of the award could not await a moment's delay because Sir Maurice's award on the new reference declaring him guilty of breach of promise could come any time. And why should his letter to the Girasias have been read with his statement on the eve of leaving Wardha, and not with his comprehensive declaration, "When I write I never think what I have said before"? It would not be illegitimate to say that a corollary of the declaration is, "When I speak I never think what I have said before". Breaches of promise are implicit in such strident declarations. The Mahatma himself called it "growing from truth to truth."

Gandhi summed up the Rajkot affair in these words: "And so I have left empty-handed, with body shattered, hope cremated... I have told Durbar Virawalla, 'I am defeated. May you win.' Said a critic who obviously did not understand the why and the wherefore of the Rajkot drama: 'In giving so much attention to Rajkot to the exclusion of all else, you seem to have lost all sense of proportion. It was your obvious duty to be at Tripuri. If you had been there, things would have taken a different turn.' Gandhi replied: 'Tripuri was a preparation. Rajkot was a skirmish.' He might have said more truthfully: 'Rajkot was an offshoot of Tripuri.' The fast unto death there was the ace of trumps against Subhas Chandra Bose who bade fair to take the Congress under his control. Gandhi lost the skirmish, but he won the war."

Ralph Borsodi: Man Of Action

By MILDRED J. LOOMIS

It is common to label a man "visionary" whose chief interest is figuring out the education and institutions, the ideas and actions which should be widespread in a good "society." Such a "hopeless" idealist surely must be impractical; certainly he couldn't be much of a business man, and of course he'd know nothing about how to use a hammer or a spade! But these conclusions do not fit R.B. He is as much a man of action as he is of vision.

As a very young man he was a success in business. Before he was 30 he was counselling Macy's department store, the National Spool Cotton Co. and other large New York City firms on advertising and marketing problems. He helped them sell their goods and he wrote for trade journals. But he did not like it. He pointed out the waste, the added cost, the shoddy goods, the fake values and the unfair competition which he found in the advertising "game." He looked for an alternative; he asked, "What can I DO?"

Move to the Country

The answer was that he and his family did not have to endure "the city" or live by commercial practices which he did not like. So in 1921 they moved to a run-down place, which they named "Seven Acres," 25 miles north of New York City. There was plenty to DO!

They did not know all about doing it, but his wife, Myrtle Mae Borsodi, had come from an Iowa farm. With her assistance and the help of books he (they) learned to till and plant, compost, cultivate and harvest; to repair and build; to raise chickens and goats; to can and process; raise fruit and fodder. Seven years later they had developed the skills and the confidence to buy more acres and build the now famed Dogwood Homestead near Suffern, N. Y. A large three-winged house grew there from the stones on the place, gardens and fruit orchards, animal shelters, a swimming pool—all from their own labor. As their sons grew and married, stone cottages were erected nearby for and by them.

Mills and Machines

At Dogwoods the Borsodis had a modern homestead—a small-scale, electrically-equipped enterprise. Borsodi improved and designed looms for their own cloth. He suggested and developed equipment for the kitchen and the home laundry. In the 1920s he motorized and built a cabinet for what was probably the first mill for the home-milling of flour and cereal in this country. Actually, he started what is today becoming a national trend: the increasing use of home-scale kitchen and garden equipment.

Dayton Homestead Community

The Borsodi homestead was widely featured during the Big Depression; people flocked to his door. I, in a small group of former religious educators in Dayton, Ohio, was doing graduate work at Columbia University. We asked our professors what to do about the depression back in Dayton. We were told to see Borsodi and we did (1931). Mr. Borsodi was invited to Dayton to supervise an action project on a larger scale—the First Homestead Community near that city. Plans included ringing a "depressed" industrial city with many small, self-sustaining homesteader groups. Several were started; one came to fruition before government red tape defeated it. But in the process Eleanor Roosevelt and the American Friends Service Committee were interested. The U.S. government set up a department of homesteads, and the Friends have sponsored intentional communities since.

Education Needed

Borsodi went back to Dogwoods convinced that a new education was needed to produce new values and a new culture. Another action project resulted: the School of Living, for research and teaching, a larger than family-sized house on four acres of land, where the vegetables, fruit and animals used in the school were raised by faculty and students. Here the research for the "How to Economize" bulletins was carried on.

Suffern to Melbourne University

Borsodi realized that an isolated homestead family could not develop all the factors of the good life. The next step was Bayard Lane Homesteading Community, sixteen lovely homesteads—with houses of Rockland county stone, built by co-operative building guilds—clustering around the School of Living near Suffern, N.Y. This was followed by Van Houten Fields, a community of thirty homesteads near West Nyack, N.Y. All the time Borsodi was administering the projects, raising money, supervising the building guilds, an office force and research, and doing educational work in problems of living. A Herculean job. Numerous problems developed, World War II came on, and financial support dwindled. Mr. Borsodi retired to write and study, to plan, and later to organize and erect a small university through which to challenge educators and leaders in society to educate for living.

—'The Green Revolution' School of Living, Ohio.

THE INDO-PAK TUG-OF-WAR

(From Our Correspondent)

As might have been expected, the Indo-Pakistan talks at the ministerial level have failed. According to Mr. Bhutto, the Pakistan Foreign Minister, the break is "final", but he admitted to newsmen that the Pakistan Government had asked for clarification of the Anglo-American mediation proposal. Mr. Swaran Singh, the Indian representative, also told newsmen, India will not be averse to utilising the good offices of a mutually acceptable personality for resolving Kashmir and other major irritants between India and Pakistan. Pakistan, on the other hand, according to Mr. Bhutto, would like to know the terms of reference of the proposed mediation, their duration and time limit, before it gives its consent to the proposal.

There were some differences in regard to the contents of the joint communique issued at the end of the talks. India had suggested that the communique should contain a declaration that the two countries were agreed on settling the Kashmir issue by peaceful means, but the proposal was rejected by the Pakistani representative, although he had earlier given the assurance that Pakistan also believed in pursuing peaceful methods in settling the issue. His refusal to include the principle in the communique is therefore significant, particularly as, in rejecting India's offer of a no-war pact, Mr. Bhutto argued that, while Pakistan had not settled any problem by armed conflict or aggression, India had resorted to the use of force in the case of Goa, Junagarh and Hyderabad. "You have not," he told an Indian correspondent, "desisted from resorting to a solution by armed force."

The Pakistan delegation leader also said that reference to the World Court was "vaguely touched upon" at the Rawalpindi round of talks, adding that Pakistan had always maintained that she was willing to consider "the totality of the whole problem—not just the bare act of accession" being referred for adjudication. This would seem to indicate that Pakistan is far from convinced that Kashmir's accession to India was illegal or unconstitutional. He laid stress on the point that India's conditional acceptance of accession should be among the factors to be taken into consideration by the adjudicator.

Mr. Swaran Singh rightly regretted that response was lacking to India's offer of no-war pact, although India had suggested that a no-war pact did not mean freezing the Kashmir issue. From the Pakistan point of view, presumably, that would be the practical effect of a no-war pact. Mr. Singh said India had made a major concession by its willingness to cede to Pakistan an area

of 32,000 to 34,000 square miles of Jammu and Kashmir state—almost as much as has been under the occupation of Pakistan for over a decade—but the Pakistani claim to the whole of that State, leaving about 3,000 square miles for India was patently unrealistic. It would, therefore, appear that the Indo-Pakistan talks never got down to brass tacks. In the circumstances, Mr. Bhutto can hardly be blamed if he, as Mr. Swaran Singh said, started the present round with the idea that this should be the last one. The constitutional crisis facing Pakistan, as a result of its Supreme Court judgment that ministers cannot be members of its Parliament, appears to have come in handy to cut short a round which, it appears, hardly required any further prolonging.

The failure of the talks, it is being anticipated here, will result in a reduction of the quantum of aid immediately available to India from the Western Powers and in a postponement of the utmost amount available to India from these countries. This read with reports of the Chinese continuing the massing of their troops on our border appears ominous, as the Chinese may not like to miss an opportunity to come to the aid of Pakistan if only to show the world that India is being unreasonable all round in her border disputes.

According to Pakistanis, continuation of talks would assure India peace along the Pakistan border and approval by U.S. Congress in course of time of long-term aid to India.

BY-ELECTIONS TO PARLIAMENT

In the by-elections to Parliament which are being fought in U.P., it is very much to be regretted that the Praja Socialist Party should have thought it fit to put up a candidate against Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia. This correspondent is no admirer of the Socialist leader, nor of the methods of his Party, and has frequently condemned its slogans. But Socialist unity is one of the greatest desiderata, not only for the cause of Socialism but also that of democracy in India, by way of reducing the multiplicity of parties without which the Congress Party will continue to enjoy undue representation in the legislatures of the land and to ride rough-shod over others. Opposition to Dr. Lohia's candidature by the PSP will reduce almost to nil the chances of Socialist unity and should have been avoided, even granting that needless obstruction in the way of that unity has so far been put by the Socialist Party.

The Congress alone can gain by the splitting

up of the Socialist vote in the constituency and the PSP cannot be unaware of it. Of what avail then can be its protestation that that is not what the Party intended? Indeed, the PSP could not have done greater good to the Congress and more harm to the Socialists than by putting up a candidate against Dr. Lohia. It is things like these that make the Socialists say that the PSP leadership looks up to the Congress leaders for favours. An Opposition Party that comes out in support of the ruling party to such an extent becomes a contradiction in terms. The vicious circle has to be put an end to somewhere. It is, therefore, being earnestly hoped here that the PSP will withdraw its candidate at the last moment in favour of Dr. Lohia to enable him to defeat his Congress rival, Dr. Keskar, one-time assistant to Lohia in the AICC office at Allahabad. Passions should not be allowed to sway sober judgment and personalities should not be allowed to cash with principles to the detriment of the cause and for the benefit of the common opponent.

One almost begins to wonder if the PSP regards the Congress as its opponent. If it does, why is it playing the opponent's game in U.P.? Even the Jana Sangh—all honour to it—has come out in full support of Dr. Lohia, though it is surely much farther removed in politics from the Socialist Party than the PSP. All that one can say safely—and it is being said here does not realise the paramount need of a good and strong opposition in Parliament, so necessary for the proper functioning of the democracy. It is the old history of the pre-British period repeating itself when principles and policies were always sacrificed at the altar of groupism, and a united front of nationalists remained a distant goal, because some one would not call Gandhi Mahatma and another refuse to wear khaddar and yet another scoff at the spinning wheel.

DESERTIONS

The crossing over of two Akali members of the Punjab legislature to the ruling Congress Party has again raised the issue of the morality of a member of one party crossing over to another. As this generally benefits the ruling party, beside the deserter, the need of a convention is being stressed here to prevent such unwholesome desertions. It is well-known in some shape or other. If the Congress is really interested in curbing corruption, it should put its foot down on such desertions. How nice it would have been if Sardar Pratap Singh Kairon had insisted on the deserting members seeking re-election on the Congress ticket before joining the Congress. It would, indeed, have been a feather on his cap—one which would have been applauded all over India. Instead, he has given rise to a demand for the enactment of a law making it obligatory on members of parties leaving their parties and crossing over to others to resign their seats in the legislatures and seeking re-election on the ticket of the party they choose to join. Some such healthy conventions will do the country no harm and prove the bona fides of the rul-

ing party. Indeed, it is being said here that if the chief ministers were to exert themselves in the game of inducing members of other parties to leave them and join the Congress, they can be quite successful in reducing the size of the Opposition still further. If such things do not happen in the democratically advanced countries, it is because public opinion there is too strong for such desertions taking place without the deserters having to pay for it sooner or later. But should not attempts be made in India to make it possible for democracy to function successfully, instead of democracy being used as a stepping stone to personal gain?

Book Review

GENERALIZATION IN ETHICS: By Marcus George Singer, Associate Professor of Philosophy in the University of Wisconsin, U.S.A. Pages 341 exclusive of bibliography and index. 30s. Published by Eyre and Spottiswoode, London, 1963.

Modern western philosophy from the days of Des Cartes has been one consistent and sustained, co-operative and many-sided endeavour of thinkers to find a **rational**, secular basis for a synthetic vision of the universe. It has also been motivated at the same time by a passion for finding a rational basis for the human **values**, which, hitherto in the history of man have been mixed up with religion, mythology and superstition. Explanation and valuation have been the twin inspiration of modern philosophy which came of age in the sixteenth century with Des Cartes when it began the process of disentangling itself from the swaddling clothes of theology.

The distinctive character of modern thought (to put it in other words) is to adopt the rhythm of reason to interpretation of human experience in all its dimensions. This has been called the scientific method which is but a conscious systematisation of the methods of discovery and invention.

Much current thinking on the part of trained professional philosophers in the universities in India is taking the form of interpretation and defence of traditional systems and values.

But it is high time that modern India started on her own adventure in the reconstruction of experience in terms of reason in all realms—of nature and value, of the positive sciences and the humanities.

In this endeavour, the building of sociology, social psychology and moral science in terms of reason occupy pride of place in the present context of democratic life.

Among the works in ethics put forth by contemporary thinkers in the West, the present volume under review is specially attractive in this context to us in India.

The author, Professor Dighe, has a long and distinguished record in the field of moral philosophy. He has written several books on the classics of western moral philosophy from Kant and J. S. Mill, Sidgwick and Hegel and the notable contribution of living thinkers like Paton and Ross to think out afresh the criterion of ethics—viz: what is the moral standard whereby we can distinguish between right and wrong, good and bad.

He restates the Kantian principle of universality or generalization in a more adequate form as satisfying the quest for moral criteria. The good and right are those actions that can be universalised without contradiction and without leading to social breakdown.

He restates also the utilitarianism of Mill and the modern varieties of it given by G. E. Moore and Ross—the idea of good so as to include the value of generalization.

It is clear that the moral value of human actions contains in some way the element of **universality**. Moral actions are far removed from those conceived as exception indulged in by agents for their own interests. They are different essentially from prudential policies, enlightened or other.

There is an element of **objectivity** in moral value which cannot be thought away.

Nor can it be fused into a feeling of the compulsions of nature. The **"ought"** does not derive from natural law in any direct sense. For nature is 'red in tooth and claw' and knows nothing of self-sacrifice which is the cream of morality.

As T. H. Huxley long ago put it, "though the moral process is born of the cosmic process, it is at enmity with its parent!"

In social ethics, it is impossible to agree with social Darwinists like Herbert Spencer who sought to merge morality with natural selection.

It is this general or universal element that is at the root of the **rule of law** which binds societies, states and nations.

In India we have yet to begin thinking along these lines in a systematic way, using the traditional moralities as a basis for reflection as well as starting **de novo**. There is room for both methods—that of cultural interpretation and that of **de novo** reflections from experience today.

Was Krishna right in inducing Yudhishtira in telling a lie on the battlefield—a lie in effect, as it proved?

Was the son right in disobeying his father's order to kill his mother (in the epic), an order given on suspicion of her infidelity?

Is the politician right in making impossible promises to win votes? Is he right in voting for socialist policies even when he has **no** study of the doctrine and its social consequences? Is the ruling party right in using public patronage out of public funds to gather electoral influence to perpetuate its governmental power?

The mass of historical learning evident in the book is used as basis for new thought and does not crowd it out. We welcome this work as a stimulating example of constructive thought on the rational basis of morality.

It is noteworthy that the author is fully aware of the claims and efforts of semanticists who deny all possibility of philosophical thinking apart from clarification of word meanings and usages. But he rejects their conclusions of subjectivity for morals and of their relativity to time and place, race and traditions.

—M. A. Venkata Rao.

The Mind of the Nation

LOBBIES IN THE CONGRESS

The division of the Congress by personalities is based on numerous lobbies. In the first place there are the regional lobbies, with Shastri as leader of the Hindi region, Morarji for the Gujerat region, Patil, with Chavan competing, for the Maharashtra region and T.T.K. for Madras and Andhra. Each is jockeying for position as successor to Nehru in an ambidextrous way, on one side pleasing Nehru and on the other invigorating himself! The second lobby is of Socialists which has been weakened by the fate which overtook Menon and may overtake Malaviya. Nanda too has been shaken by the failure of his planning. The strength of the lobby is first, the favour of Nehru and second, from the support of the communists. The third lobby is the Gandhian lobby, which is against modernisation. It received some support by fighting for Hindi as the official language. Its leader Debhar however has deflected for an appointment on Rs. 2,000 as Chairman of the Khadi Board. The agricultural lobby has been started by Patil, doubtless to strengthen himself against Chavan. It is a lobby which may get powerful, particularly if Planning is slanted away from industrialisation as is likely. The labour or Trade Union lobby is not strong, because it cannot go further than the Congress itself in gratifying labour. The capitalists have no lobby as such, but can get individually what they want by indebting Congress members through election finance. Lastly, there is the lobby of ex-ministers, who are not only hostile to their successors but critical of the Congress. Menon, Tyagi, Mehtab, Deshmukh, Dasappa, Hanumanthayya, Santhanam, Amrit Kaur are more important than others. They do not however co-operate with each other or collect much support from other members, but they are disintegrating the Congress nevertheless.

—Insight.

News & Views

BOWLES SUPPORTS U.S. AID FOR BOKARO

WASHINGTON: Mr. Chester Bowles, U. S. Ambassador-designate to India, declared that American aid for a State-owned steel mill in India would also stimulate enterprise there.

President Kennedy recently gave his public endorsement to U. S. assistance for the Bokaro steel project, but the Agency for International Development (AID) has not yet taken a final decision.

Mr. Bowles expressed his support in a filmed interview with Republican Senator Keating, recorded for broadcast on television and radio in New York.

Senator Keating said there were many objections to giving India aid for a State-owned steel plant.

Mr. Bowles said he was all for Digitized by Anna Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri
there were situations in developing countries like India where they could not get all private investment that was needed.

U. S. officials expressed gratification at a report that the Government of India had approved a proposal to establish an independent Indian Government company to build the Bokaro steel plant.

A spokesman for the Agency for International Development made it clear that the action represented only one step towards clearing away a whole complex of issues surrounding U. S. Government financial assistance for the gigantic plant.

TOUGH WESTERN NOTES TO RUSSIA

MOSCOW: The West rejected in toughly worded Notes Soviet attacks on the NATO multilateral nuclear force plan.

A British Note handed over here declared that Russia was deploying "more than than 700 medium and intermediate range nuclear missiles, the bulk of which are ranged against the U. K. and her continental allies." This Note and Notes from the U. S. and West Germany were delivered to the Soviet Foreign Ministry.

The Notes—which replied to a Soviet protest of April 8—used some of the most pointed language in recent diplomatic history.

The American Note said "hundreds" of medium and intermediate range nuclear missiles are aimed at the West and said it was "preposterous" for the Russians to argue that Western Europe should not be allowed to build up a defence.

One of the key phrases in the Soviet protest had been "The plans for the creation of a multilateral NATO nuclear force have, as a matter of fact, been thought of for the purpose of satisfying the evergrowing demands of the Federal Republic of Germany."

The Western Notes replied that the Russians are not only increasing their military strength, but frequently boast about it.

Continuing that one of the main reasons for tension in Europe was failure of the Soviet Union to agree to unification of Germany, the American Note said. "All objective observers understand that tensions and dangers in Europe do not result from the policies of the Federal Republic (of Germany) but, rather, from the unnatural division of Germany which is manifested in its most grotesque and inhuman form by the wall through the centre of Berlin and from the refusal of the Soviet Government to agree to grant the German people their inherent right."

CHINA PREPARING FOR A NEW ATTACK ON INDIA?

NEW DELHI: In the last few weeks, Chinese have further reinforced their forward positions with fresh troop concentrations both in the Ladakh and NEFA sectors.

A spokesman of the External Affairs Ministry said: "We have information from several sources of a progressive concentration of Chinese troops in the forward areas."

He disclosed that the Chinese had also moved in small military detachments into the demilitarised zone in Ladakh where they had only civil posts.

In addition to their general military build-up along the entire Sino-Indian border, the Chinese are reported to be

secretly maintaining pockets of troops in the so-called demilitarised zones both in the Ladakh and NEFA sectors.

The Chinese have also been sending reconnaissance planes across the McMahon Line to watch the Indian movements in NEFA. The Chinese air activity in this area was noticed for the first time in March last; and when a protest Note was sent to Peking, the Chinese promptly replied quoting a statement of the Defence Minister Mr. Y. B. Chavan, in Parliament to the effect that no enemy air violations had taken place during the first three months of this year.

These Chinese reconnaissance flights across the McMahon Line are seen as evidence of Peking's readiness to use its air force in the event of a renewed onslaught on India.

A message from Shillong says that the Chinese have been assembling and massing forces in areas bordering the Siang frontier division of NEFA, according to villagers coming into the interior from the Manigong and Tuting frontier areas.

The villagers said that there had been considerable massing of forces across the border during the last three weeks.

LIU CHI DENOUNCES CO-EXISTENCE

TOKYO: President Liu Shao-chi of China criticised Mr. Khrushchev's policy of peaceful co-existence and assured North Viet Nam of full support for Viet-Cong war against the South Viet Nameese Government.

He compared Sino-North Viet Nameese relations to "lips and teeth which share the same destinies."

Although the Chinese chief of State did not refer to Mr. Khrushchev by name, the stand he took was directly opposit to that of the Soviet Premier.

"Peaceful co-existence must not be used to abolish the the socialist countries' duty of supporting the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed nations and people," Mr. Liu told a mass rally in Hanoi.

"The foreign policy of socialist countries," Mr. Liu declared, "must not be reduced to the single aspect of peaceful co-existence."

During the height of the recent Moscow-Peking flare-up over ideological issues, the Chinese charged Mr. Khrushchev with being lukewarm in supporting local "liberation" struggle for fear that they might trigger a nuclear holocaust.

PAKISTAN REMINDED OF CENTO AND SEATO AIMS

Washington Post published its New Delhi correspondent Selig Harrison's story datelined Karachi on CENTO meeting in Karachi. The story in part said:

"Rusk has reportedly reminded Pakistan that military aid programme here has run well over dollars 1.3 billion (Rs. 650 crores) exclusive of defence support and economic assistance."

One official expressed the view privately that it would take India a long time to catch up to that.

The United States has also made clear that CENTO and SEATO are aimed at communist aggression and that the United States would regard United Nations as appropriate channel for action in event of non-communist aggression against CENTO or SEATO member states..."

PATEL THREATENED RESIGNATION AGAINST NEHRU'S TIBETAN POLICY

Prof. Nitya Nand writes in **Organiser**:

Dir Sardar Patel at one time threaten to resign in protest against Pandit Nehru's Tibetan policy? A recent book on Tibet by Mr. Lowell Thomas Jr. has affirmed this very categorically. In this book titled "**The Silent War in Tibet**", (Seeker and Warburg, London) Mr. Thomas writes:

"Most Indians not only agreed with the democratic ideals of the Europeans but also believed that communism was antithetical to the principles of their religions. Among those whose thinking reflected this attitude was Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel who, in addition to Gandhiji and Jawaharlal Nehru, was one of India's top three nationalist leaders. He was firmly opposed to a soft policy on Communist expansionism. When the United Nations declared North Korea an aggressor, Patel advocated sending Indian troops to join the U. N. armies.

"And when the Chinese Communists attacked Tibet, he wanted to send Indian force in aid of the Tibetans. He knew that the force would be defeated, but his idea was to show the world that India was militantly opposed to aggression from any source. Patel, however, was mainly in charge of domestic problems while Nehru had responsibility of foreign affairs. Thus, although Patel nearly resigned in protest against the leniency to China, Nehru's policy predominated.

"Moreover, Patel did not live long enough to have modifying influence on the other type of thinking which Nehru exemplified."

GROSS MISUSE OF GOVERNMENT MACHINERY AND PUBLIC FUNDS

CALCUTTA: Not many outside West Bengal had heard the name of "Digha" till last week when Prime Minister Pandit Nehru accompanied by Shrimati Indira Gandhi, Home Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri and Orissa boss Biju Patnaik descended on the village by helicopter to address a "Political Conference" organised by West Bengal Committee.

Some one in the State Congress needs to explain why at all this distant, desolate, sea-side village was chosen as venue for the conference, and some one from the State Government ought to tell as to how much expenditure this party **tamasha** has cost the State exchequer. On face of it, it seems the expenses may well run into several lakhs.

The gross misuse of Governmental machinery and public funds made in trying to thrust importance on an unimportant site by holding a political convention there, reminds one of the ill-famed AICC Session of "**Kalyani**"—a name that will go down in history as a notorious example of Congress corruption.

—Organiser.

CONGRESS MAL-PRACTICES IN ELECTIONEERING

Mr. Rahat Maulai, MLA, candidate in the by-election to the Lok Sabha from the Amroha parliamentary constituency, in a distressing appeal withdrawing his own candidature, has exposed Congress tactics thus:—

"All sorts of pressures and influences have been brought to bear on me by the Congress. Many elders and religious leaders have been deputed to meet a humble person like me. Extermment of my brother has been used as a means to coerce me. After an intensive tour of Amroha, Sambhal and Hasanpur, I have come to the conclusion that not only has the Congress permitted communal considerations to prevail in nominating Hafiz Mohd. Ibrahim at the last minute, but it has also created a positively communal atmosphere through its election propaganda. What is worse, it is playing upon sectarian feelings everywhere. Its election strategy is based upon utilizing leaders of each caste and sect to persuade the voters of the respective castes and sects to vote for the Congress. Block Chairmen are being pressurised to support and assist the Congress candidate.

After sincere, serious and careful consideration, I have come to the decision, and I am happy to make it public today that in the interest of future well-being of the district and the nation, I should retire from this contest. I appeal to the voters of the Amroha parliamentary constituency to bestir themselves and, reposing still their confidence in me, stand by me and cast every vote in favour of Acharya Kripalani and help strengthen the Opposition, and teach an unforgettable lesson to the Congress."

WHEN FOOD IS MORE DEADLY THAN POISON!

BHOPAL: Tears rolled down the cheeks of Acharya Vinoba Bhave, when Union Health Minister, Dr. Sushila Nayyar, recently told him about the high incidence of adulteration in the country.

According to a Sarvodaya worker who was with Vinobaji during his recent **padayatra** of West Bengal, Dr. Nayyar told the Acharya a evry pathetic story:

A disgusted man decided to commit suicide and took poison. But to his great surprise he did not die. Later, it was found that the poison was adulterated.

Meanwhile, he felt hungry bought some eatables and soon after taking his meals felt uneasy, went to a hospital and died.

On investigation it was found that the food he had taken was adulterated!

BIGGER STATES IN BORDER REGIONS Move Suggested By Kairon

INDORE, The Punjab Chief Minister, Mr. Pratap Singh Kairon, told, a public meeting that India must remain alert as long as the danger of invasion by China continued.

Mr. Kairon told the Indore Press Club earlier that he favoured the formation of bigger States in the frontier regions for administrative convenience and speedy development.

He suggested that Kashmir, the Punjab, Rajasthan and Himachal Pradesh should be integrated. Such a big unit would help the defence against 'our enemies across the border.'

REASON FOR KHRUSHCHEV'S RETREAT

How is one to explain the retreat of the present Communist leaders under Khrushchev from the positions of Leninism in international policy? Why does Khrushchev so insistently preach a policy of peaceful co-existence between

A PLEA FOR THE RETENTION OF ENGLISH

countries of the socialist camp and states of the capitalist world, even going so far as to give spurious interpretations of Lenin's views on the subject? The reasons for this change in tactics are to be found in the advances of military technology. Even if Soviet Union were victorious in an atomic war against the capitalist camp, the catastrophic consequences of such a war would leave the Communist leaders with no hope of creating Communism on the ruins of civilization. The new Party programme states that "support for peaceful co-existence is also in the interests of the bourgeoisie, who realize that thermonuclear war would not spare even the ruling classes of capitalist society." The authors of the programme do not mention that the new ruling class of the Soviet camp would likewise not remain invulnerable in the event of atomic war, but it is this that prompted the Soviet leaders to carry out a revision of Lenin's theories on war. The **rapprochement** between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, whose government long since abandoned Lenin's belief in the inevitability of a new world war, is in line with this policy. Only the Communist parties of mighty China and diminutive Albania remain true to the letter of Lenin's theory of the inevitability of war between the countries of socialism and the capitalist states.

—P. Fedenka (Bulletin, Institute for the Study of U.S.S.R.)

Dear Editor

HINDI GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

It may be said that late Dr. Rajendra Prasad was the unwitting father of the secession movement in India. Mr. K. Kamaraj, Chief Minister of Madras, asserted in September 1962 that "in his view, the idea of separation (demanded by the DMK) could be traced to the earlier attempts to introduce Hindi compulsorily in the State, though it was made with the best of intentions." If the allegation be true, the members of the Congress Party in the Constituent Assembly were equally divided on the question of retention of English or change over to Hindi as the Official Language of the Indian Union, and, in unconscionable violation of the well-established convention that the casting vote should favour the **status quo**, Dr. Rajendra Prasad gave his casting vote in favour of the change to Hindi. In the Constituent Assembly, the Congress members had to vote for Hindi as a solid Party and, in response to frantic appeals for unanimity and speed, the non-Congress dissenters voted for it, but not without mental reservations, which revealed themselves subsequently.

The Hindi Government of Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri first amended the Constitution to declare secession unconstitutional, when it was unnecessary as the D.M.K. voluntarily suspended its propaganda for secession as soon as the present emergency was declared, and later enacted the Official Languages Bill to enforce Hindi permanently throughout India, and offered to tolerate English for a while and push Hindi with might and main in order to eliminate English as soon as possible. It is impossible to believe that the Hindi Government of India will treat English with any more respect than a cat may be expected to respect a mouse. Its action in first making a secession unconstitutional and then enforcing Hindi is like that of a cruel husband who beat his innocent wife after tying her up to a tree in order to prevent her escaping his beating.

Bangalore, 15-5-1963.

—P. Kodanda Rao.

The views bandied about by anti-English conferences are quite erroneous. These so-called politicians and statesmen must realise that English language cannot and would not quit India merely for their wishing. For, English is the **lingua franca** of the world and to ignore it is to ignore world unity and international co-operation. To discard English would also mean that we do not recognise the claims on us of culture, science and progress of the modern age. By no stretch of imagination could Hindi substitute English as our common language. The Universities which have introduced Hindi as medium of instruction have so far miserably failed in their attempts to turn out intellects of higher calibre. It goes without saying that the production of wealth has become an imperative need for India and this purpose will not be fulfilled without foreign assistance at least for some years to come in the fields of science, technology and modernised agriculture. For achieving these ends and also for reaching a fair standard of education and culture and acquiring for our country a respectable status among the nations of the world, English is absolutely essential.

For these reasons the demand of all the sane sections of the people for the continuance of English as the sole All India Language for an indefinite period has become irresistible and no amount of Hindi agitation would be able to thwart its fulfilment.

Aska (Ganjam)

—P. Ramji Patro.

TWO COMPETING SYSTEMS

'New Nations, asked to choose between two competing systems need only compare conditions in East and West Germany, Eastern and Western Europe, North and South Viet-Nam. They need only compare the disillusionment of Communist Cuba with a promise of hemisphere Alliance for Progress. And all the world knows that no successful system builds a wall to keep its people in and freedom out —and that the wall dividing Berlin is a symbol of communist failure.'

—President John Kennedy
(*"Winds of Change"*)

BANKRUPTCY OF MARXISM

'Marxism as an economic prophesy is bankrupt in mid-twentieth century. If economic equity is emerging anywhere at all, it is in the Western democratic countries where labour and capital negotiate on an equal footing and the lot of the poor is ameliorated by judicial legislation; not in Communist countries where the State is the arbitrary employer and all power of bargaining is taken away from the employees. Economically invalidated, all that is left of Marxism is the idea of Proletarian dictatorship, which Lenin, Stalin and Mao have elaborated into a technique that enables a small party of professional revolutionaries to maintain power.'

—Wang Li-ming (*Communist China Today*).

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IN THIS ISSUE

EDITORIAL:	Page
A Platform for Democratic Opposition	2
Property, Democracy And Marxism By M. A. Venkata Rao	5
Basis of our Foreign Policy By M. N. Tholal	7
The Tragedy of Nehruism By Kaundinya	9
ECONOMIC SUPPLEMENT	I-IV
DELHI LETTER:	
The Aftermath of Amroha	10
Book-Review	12
The Mind of the Nation	12
News and Views	13
Dear Editor	15



EDITORIAL**A Platform For Democratic Opposition**

THE three by-elections of Amroha, Farookhabad and Rajkot have given a severe jolt to the Congress-Communist Alliance for Totalitarianism. They have also set the opposition parties in the country thinking about forging a strong united front against this totalitarian trend which threatens to undo all the good work that our illustrious national leaders like Dadabhai Nawroji, Ranade, Tilak, Mehtha, Arvind Ghosh had done and to undermine even the cherished ideals of democracy and freedom, for which they and their countrymen sacrificed everything and in very many cases, even their lives. It was in the fitness of things, therefore, that Acharya Kripalani should, at this juncture, come out with a six-point programme for opposition unity, to counter this harm being done to the nation by the Congress in collaboration with the Communist party.

TERRIBLE MESS

The country has been brought into a terrible mess by the irrational and ill-advised policies of the Congress Government, domestic and foreign. On the home front 'the rich are becoming richer and the poor, poorer' as admitted by Mr. Nehru himself. Consequently the standard of living of the common man except that of the Ministers, fat-salaried bureaucrats and government-favoured permit-livence holders, is rapidly going down. In foreign affairs, the Government policy has been an abject failure and a total disaster. Trying to hob-nob with both the power blocs and to get the best out of both of them, we as a nation, have gone down in the estimation of the leading countries of the world and been considered to be rank opportunists devoid of any faith and ideals. These countries appear to be puzzled at the wild and irresponsible talk indulged in by our representatives sent by the government abroad for getting western military aid. The foreign press is full of stories of these government representatives not knowing their own job and being unable to make well-reasoned out and definite demands on the U.S. and U.K. in respect of short-term and long-term military requirements of the country to fight the Chinese menace.

Naturally, therefore, the three thumping victories won by Kripalani, Masani and Lohia in the by-elections against the Congress, have roused high hopes among Indian patriots that a strong opposition will emerge out of this political chaos created by the Congress-Communist combine. These elections witnessed close collaboration between Congressmen and Communists, Power-politics being the most powerful bond

between the two. And they both know that nothing helps power-politics so much as state-socialism of the Soviet variety which is being practised and implemented in India under subterfuge of national planning.

OPPOSITION LINE OF ATTACK

The Congress-Communist strategy for capturing power should give the opposition a clue to the line of attack it should take against the Congress government in the Parliament and in the country. Congress electioneering has clearly shown how Congress Ministers unabashedly use their governmental power to coerce the electors into supporting Congress candidates. The opposition must therefore realise that this ever-increasing threat to the civil liberties and freedoms of the people could never be successfully met unless state-socialism which places unlimited power into the hands of these Ministers, is challenged and effectively curbed. In this context, the proposal of Acharya Kripalani to counter doctrinaire socialism of the Congress by 'social justice' appears to be eminently sound and reasonable. Whoever thinks that he could co-operate with Congressmen and the Communists in implementing their programme of state socialism and yet remain a votary of freedom, is only deceiving himself. Dr. Lohia unfortunately does not seem to have learnt this lesson. He has yet to learn that Congress-Communist combination knows no generosity in politics and is bent on crushing all opposition parties, to fulfil their own dominant purpose which is to impose on India **One Party Rule**.

THE BASIC ISSUE

The Opposition Parties must therefore initially come to a full agreement on this basic issue of Freedom versus Totalitarianism. Then, from this basic issue will flow naturally all other items of an opposition unity-programme. Relentless fight against the Chinese invaders is possible only for those who think that our hard-fought and hard-won freedom cannot be retained without throwing the Chinese pirates from the last inch of Indian territory occupied by them. It will be pertinent to observe here that Congress has never committed itself to do so, because in that event she will be compelled to water down her Five Year Socialist Plans and fraternise with the Free Alliance of the world against the Chinese. Congressmen would rather give up Ladakh than settle Kashmir dispute on a rational basis. They would starve the people rather than modify their plan of nationalisation of industries and of building up heavy industry. Acharya Kripalani is, therefore, perfectly justifi-

fied in contending as he has done in his six-point programme, that the opposition must cry a halt to any further expansion of public sector unless and until it is proved that the existing state industries could be run with at least equal efficiency with the private industries. He also pleads for effective control over private enterprise. We have only to add this much that control over private enterprise would be justified only in the case of those private industries which tend to be monopolistic and which obstruct the smooth working of a free market.

Considered dispassionately, Acharya Kripalani's tentative programme must commend itself to all the democratic parties in India, whether socialistically inclined like the P.S.P. or S.P. or whether they stand for free economy like Jana-sangha or the Swatantra.

COMMON IDEAL

The one thing to be necessarily remembered in this connection is all these opposition parties coming together on a common platform must have a common inspiring ideal. That ideal could be no other than 'Freedom' which means alternative choices made available to the individual in every sphere and department of his life. All other ideals like 'Socialism', 'Private Enterprise' should be subordinated to it and must be altered and adjusted to meet the demands of a 'free' society. Without this basic agreement on Democratic Freedom, opposition unity platform would be only a coterie of 'frustrated and ambitious politicians' not quite distinguishable from the Congress leaders who have now opted out for State Socialism and Totalitarian Government in preference to Liberty and Freedom, the good old Congress ideals.

CHINA'S INFLUENCE WANING IN SOUTH-EAST ASIA

Communist China appears to have overplayed its part as the 'liberator' in South-East Asia. Indonesia supposed to be within the sphere of Chinese influence is now behaving in a way which indicates that she no longer believes in China's good intentions, but on the other hand fears Chinese expansionism. President Sukarno must have taken a hint from the fierce anti-Chinese riots in his country that it is better to befriend the neighbours than antagonise them just to placate the Chinese. His recent cordial talks with Premier Tunku Abdul Rahman on Malaysia Federation reflects this changed attitude towards China as also towards the non-communist countries of South-East Asia.

The joint statement issued by the Indonesian President and the Malayan Premier reaffirmed their faith in 1959 Treaty of friendship between the two countries and declared the intention of the governments of both the countries to desist from acrimonious debate over Malayan Federation. This will help the impending tri-party meeting of the foreign Ministers of Philippines, Malaya and Indonesia, iron out their dif-

ferences and pave the way for later summit meeting of the heads of these three states. These talks give one the impression that the claims on North Borneo made by Philippines might be considered by Premier Tunku and Malaysian Federation might be approved by the Indonesian President, provided the right of self-determination is conceded to the people of North Borneo, Sarawak and Brueni or at least a large measure of autonomy is assured to these areas.

The British are reportedly desirous of riding themselves of their military commitments in this area as early as possible. It is a happy augury that South-East Asian nations are now acting independently of the two power blocs and relying increasingly on mutual co-operation and understanding among themselves.

Japan, one of the foremost nations of Asia, is said to have played no insignificant role in bringing these nations together for mutual talks and consultations. India unfortunately does not figure in these important events taking place in her close proximity. Is this stony silence and cold indifference of Indian government also a part and parcel of its non-alignment policy?

DEMOCRACIES FAKED AND GENUINE

President Ayubkhan's open confession of failure of the 'basic democracy' that he had introduced in Pakistan, does in no way detract from the intrinsic merit and value of Liberal-demo-

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cratic forms of Government. If at all, it exposes the hollow pretensions of power-mad politicians who seek to perpetuate their personal rule over vast territories by creating faked democracies in the countryside and thus attempting to give a broad base to their own autocratic regimes. Far from encouraging liberal-democratic spirit among the people, all that such democracies do, as experience has shown, is to create in the countryside well-organised gangs and cliques of corrupt but powerful people who are more interested in being 'more loyal to the King than the King himself' than in rendering sincere service to the public.

A very fine and perfect example of such sham 'democracies' is to be found in the Communist-dominated 'Peoples' Democracies'. The basic units are vertically responsible to the next higher units till the line reaches the topmost point in the hierarchy. But the units of the same rank are strictly prohibited from spontaneously developing any comradely relations among themselves. Moreover every election to these bodies is only a referendum, the electors having to record their votes in favour or against the only candidate allowed to stand for the election. Under non-Communist dictatorial regimes, a sort of compromise is sought to be made between complete autocracy at the apex and democracy at the base. But power and freedom being by nature irreconcilables, such experiments end in failure. It is, therefore, no wonder Ayubkhan's basic democracy met its inevitable doom and he has now, though reluctantly, joined the fray of party politics in Pakistan.

What is required to make any democracy successful and dynamic, is to severely limit the powers of the Central and provincial governments and to grant the largest measure of autonomy to the basic units which alone can practise direct democracy. They should be allowed to think and act freely without uncalled-for interference of the higher units. Of course, during the transitional stage, till the 'masters' i.e. electors are fully educated and trained into democratic practices, all the units basic or central must be both 'selective' and 'elective', as suggested by the late M. N. Roy. This will enable, the able, cultured and enlightened persons who do not like to enter electoral contests, to sit in the legislative bodies and to bring to bear their healthy influence on the administration of the country.

Any form of government, whatever label it might bear, should be judged by the criterion: How much Freedom does the regime give to the individual in his private and public life? Ayubkhan's 'democracy' failed to satisfy this test and came to grief. Other such faked 'democracies' 'guided or controlled', with a king, dictator or a monolithic party at the head, will go the same way, despite their pomp and vaunted glory.

GOA'S FUTURE LINKED WITH KONKAN.

Prime Minister Nehru is an adept in the art

of confusing straight issues and complicating simple questions. He has done so in case of Kashmir and Official Language question. Sino-Indian conflict is no exception to this rule. His statements on the future of Goa are the outcome of his confusion of thought and inability to squarely face any question.

Having had no spare time or the inclination to study Goa question, he has yet dogmatically and non-chalantly assured Goa a separate entity distinguishable from Maharashtra. Goa, it may be remembered, is an area less than a district. Its population is not above six lakhs. In area and population it cannot be a viable unit.

As for language and culture, Goa is admittedly Maharashtrian. The Konkani language prevalent there is only a dialect with no literature of its own worth the name, as admitted by Mr. Nehru. When Mr. Nehru speaks of Goan distinctive culture, he perhaps means some impacts made on Goan society, particularly Christians, by 400 years of Portuguese rule. If such cultural angularities entitle Goa to a separate status and special treatment and spoon-feeding from the Centre, why did Mr. Nehru not do the same in the case of hundreds of Indian Princely States, every one of which had a distinctiveness stamped upon it for centuries together? What about Coorg and Tulu Nad of Manglore in Mysore? The same could be said of Maithili Desh in U.P. some of these areas unlike Goa are as big as sub-provinces. But Nehru's ways are like God's inscrutable. Surely this is not the way of helping national integration.

But the peoples' voice will in the end prevail. The primary school attendance goes to show that the literary language of Goa has always been and ever will be Marathi. Even some of the Christians who were Portuguesed are now taking to Marathi. The temple records, Goan literary productions are all in Marathi.

Goa is thus inseparably linked up with Konkani in the north, and through Konkani with Maharashtra. Facts and figures prove it. The future of Konkani itself extending from Thana to Karwar to the south of Goa demands Goa's merger with the Maharashtra State.

An error has crept in the issue of this journal dated June, 1, 1963. In the editorial note on "The Congress President Becomes A Fellow-Traveller," the name of the Congress President is mentioned as "Mr. Sanjeevayya Reddi". The readers will kindly read the name simply as "Mr. Sanjeevayya". The error is regretted.

D. M. KULKARNI

The history of liberty is a history of the limitation of governmental powers, not an increase of it.

—Woodrow Wilson.
What has always made the State a hell on earth has been precisely that man has tried to make it his heaven.

—F. Hoelderlin.

Property, Democracy, and Marxism

BY M. A. VENKATA RAO

It is not enough to protest against the abolition of property rights of the well-to-do as is being done by our Socialist Government. It is necessary to take the wind out of the sails of Communist revolution by enabling the property-less but able persons to hold property and thus bringing into existence a property-owning democracy.

The role assigned to private property is the pivot on which turns the entire nest of problems and differences that divide societies and states in present controversy between democracies and socialist regimes.

The existence of democratic socialist regimes on a partial basis in Scandinavia and Britain, India and Australia confuses the issue but the inherent drives of socialism are bound, if socialism is retained as governing policy to the bitter end, here also to merge democracy in socialism and socialism in communism.

Today in India we are undergoing a social revolution without sufficient realisation by the educated classes of the logic and inevitable outcome of the policies coming into force owing to the convictions and dynamism of Jawaharlal Nehru.

If India is to acclimatise democracy before long (that is, before the corruptions of democracy destroy it), the educated classes at all levels and irrespective of economic, cultural and political status, should rise to the occasion and make a heroic effort to form an intelligent public opinion on the deep-lying issues of the day.

The Right to private property is no doubt enshrined in the Fundamental Rights Part of the Constitution but such **enshrinement** has not prevented a gradual erosion of its province and substance by the Government themselves by a series of Amendments. Amendments to Article 31 took away the power of the courts of law to fix or pass upon the compensation proposed to be given to property owners when their property (land or industrial property) was taken over by the State for a "public purpose."

The rationale of a written Constitution with Fundamental Rights laid down explicitly therein is to prevent the temporary and short-sighted passions of elected legislatures from destroying the foundational principles of society and state in a hurry. Such a proposal was made by socialist parties in Australia and elsewhere and was resisted successfully as detrimental to the bed-rock principles of democracy which cannot thrive if individual rights are eroded away without proper justifiable compensation. This makes the beneficiary or agent of the beneficiary the judge of the form and measure of the compensation for the property acquired. This procedure is of the essence of **injustice** and injustice loosens the social bond and introduces the forces of anarchy.

It was observed by foreign students: "The concentration of such power in authorities who

believe more in catching the eye of the voter than in ordered progress was a negation of the rights conferred by Article 19. The denial of the right to test the adequacy of the compensation offered by judicial process removes the only check on the power... The purpose of having fundamental rights is to prevent a majority in a legislature from abusing its powers." (Gledhill).

Mr. Gledhill also raises the issue whether the abolition of large estates is directly implied in Directive Principles of State Policy. It is but a plank in the Congress party platform.

This is one of the vital questions on which the educated classes have failed the nation. The clauses of the Directive Principles of the State Policy adumbrate policies of **social liberalism**, short of socialism and communism. But under the spell of the leadership and personality of Jawaharlal Nehru, the classes concerned have let themselves be bamboozled into accepting socialism as government policy and programme as if entailed by them and sanctioned by the Constitution.

To declare that the distribution of income and property should not entail harm to common good is one thing but to initiate compulsion by the state to equalise poverty is quite another. This is what is involved in the imposition of ceilings on land holdings and the readiness to impose them on urban incomes as well.

The requirement of Article 48 to modernise agriculture on up-to-date lines is one thing but to interpret it to mean compulsory or quasi-compulsory or gradually compulsory measures of universalising co-operative-cum-collective farming on a **monolithic** basis is quite another. Let us have co-operative farms if peasants could be found to accept them voluntarily and subject to withdrawal if found unsatisfactory. But this is not the same thing as to make co-operative agriculture the **sole way** of agricultural operation. This is rank communism which is known to have failed in communist countries catastrophically. To have acquiesced in these policies without adequate discussion and understanding of their implications is the measure of the failure of the educated classes—individuals, groups, agriculturists, party leaders, particularly opposition party leaders. The Jana Sangh has opposed co-operative farming and insisted on retaining peasant farming as a principle which is good but they have accepted ceilings on land holdings which opens the door to ceilings on all other forms of

income, thus letting in communism by the back door!

The Swatantra Party also opposes co-operative farming which is a gain but they have no programme to enable the small farmer and landless farmer to acquire land like the Danish small-holder policy.

It is not enough to protest against the abolition of property rights in the well-to-do as the socialists proposes to do and the Government is doing. It is necessary to take the wind out of the sails of the communists' revolution by enabling property-less but able men **to acquire property in land, tools** and set up business on a small scale themselves. They should adopt a policy for creating a **property-owning democracy**.

The Gold Order under the Emergency is also another blow in the face of fundamental rights. It has been challenged in the High Courts and the issue is awaited. The Article 19 recognises the right of the citizen to hold and dispose the property and to follow any profession. The Gold Order has made it impossible for lakhs of goldsmiths throughout the vast country to carry on their hereditary profession by making their material namely gold unavailable to them. No democratic government should have the power to indulge in such unfeeling acts which throw millions of working self-employed people out of employment without first assuring them of alternative employment within their reach. This is callousness which is an insult to the sovereignty of the people. The apathetic quiescence of the educated classes in the sufferings of these and such people does not speak well of their social conscience.

Property as a right should be distinguished from mere possession. Robbers and burglars also possess property in the form of stolen or robbed goods.

Property to become a **right** should be recognised by custom and law, society and state as necessary and good in the case of certain forms of possession and inheritance. Individual possession and social recognition (as for social good) are both essential aspects of property as a right.

Property is so recognised in individual holders in regard to land, movable goods and cattle etc. when acquired in socially approved ways and when used within the limits approved by society. It is **not** approved if it is used for conspiracy against neighbours or the state or to harm other people in any way.

Such recognition and protection of private property in individuals enables people to plan their lives in accordance with their own ideas and customs. It enables them to express their personalities in the way they build their houses, dress themselves and their family, educate their children and so on.

The American Declaration of Independence in 1776 included Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness among Rights inherent in individuals

and conferred by God. Property is included in these rights because without the freedom to dispose of their life and liberty and to use land and other possessions in their own way excluding other peoples's interference with their possession and activities it is impossible to use the rights to any purpose.

Property is an extension of the right to one's body and life to external possessions like land and instruments and goods. The Constitution adopted by the State of Virginia used the word property explicitly and included it among fundamental rights—life, liberty, property.

It was also included explicitly among the rights of Man and the Citizen declared by the leaders of the French Revolution in 1793.

Articles 19 and 31 of our Constitution also explicitly announce the Right among the fundamental Rights of Part III.

But the amendments 31 A and B truncate the right in the manner mentioned above.

When socialists thunder against property, they have in view only the misuse of it committed by holders of large wealth. They are also indignant at the wealth enjoyed by the inheritors of property who live a life of luxury and dissipation without working. They are indignant at the immorality of waste and conspicuous consumption like the two hundred thousand dollar plate dinners given by American millionaires occasionally. The wealth wasted on race horses and pet dogs is often sufficient to maintain and educate several human families of the poor. Professor Laski in his **Grammar of Politics** inveighs eloquently on the wasteful life of the British plutocrats among whom are the descendants of Nell Gwynn, the mistress of Charles I.

But if to abolish such extravagance, we abolish the right of private property itself and make **all** property publicly owned, we only create a society of proletariats, people who own only their hands and cannot wait for a single day without wages. They will be exploited by self-appointed communist or other party oligarchs who become the New Class. They may not formally own any private wealth but the entire wealth and resources and the labour of the whole nation will be at their disposal! They will live lives of luxury not checked by any social or democratic institution!

The remedy therefore is not to abolish private property but to enable those without a civic or national minimum to acquire it. Equality of opportunity by way of education, labour organisation, social security, social credit etc. should be devised to **equalise property from below**, raising incomes through effort of merit and industry and not by cutting off the tall poppies.

To dissolve property as an individual right and universalise public ownership by the nationalisation of all industry and agriculture as the

(continued on page 8)

BASIS OF OUR FOREIGN POLICY

By M. N. Tholal

The fort of flattery that Nehru built around China has fallen. He has not learnt the elementary lesson of politics that there is no generosity in politics. When India's security itself demanded action against China's rape of Tibet Mr. Nehru almost approved of it. But flattery has not worked on Chinese leaders. They have never forgotten Lenin's words: The road to London lies through Peking and Calcutta.

On March 19, 1963, winding up the debate on the Budget demands for grants of the Ministry of External Affairs, Prime Minister Nehru said in the Lok Sabha that the foreign policy pursued by India was the right policy and the attitude that India should side with this or that group "is not one which a mature and self-respecting nation should adopt." Some members had criticised the Government's Tibet policy. Mr. Nehru, according to PTI, said he would like to know what any member thought India could do.

Mr. N. G. Ranga intervening said, "We could have raised our voice in the United Nations and elsewhere against what the Chinese did."

The Prime Minister: "The member might have raised his voice, but there is no doubt that after raising his voice he would have got into deep waters and not been able to keep his head above."

Mr. Ranga's intervening remarks and the Prime Minister's retort have been lying before me since March 20 and I have had a look at them quite a number of times. It is a pity no one asked the Prime Minister "How?" and left the Prime Minister's retort to loom large in all its horribly depressing vagueness. The Prime Minister made a plausible retort—almost a silencing one—and second thoughts on it have therefore been late in coming. Even on the first perusal his retort left a bad taste in the mouth as it smacked of cowardice, of which surely no country and no Government, including the Congress Government, can possibly be proud. The Prime Minister drew a blurred picture of our utter helplessness, which he had seldom drawn before. And yet the course pursued, at first sight at any rate, seemed the right course to pursue in the national interest.

But can a cowardly course ever be the right course? Events have proved that it was not and it can be said that it is easy to be wise after the event. One thing, however, was absolutely clear: Our Tibet policy was the negation of all that we stood for and therefore nothing to be proud of. Just look at the implications of the Prime Minister's report. We are anti-colonial. We have raised the flag of anti-colonialism. But so far as our neighbour China is concerned — and also so far as Soviet Russia is concerned, we just forgot our anti-colonialism, because, to put it in a few words, discretion is the better part of valour. We

not only refused to condemn Russian and Chinese colonialism, we also almost approved of it. Mr. Nehru went so far as to say that the East European nations were not colonies of Soviet Russia and that Tibet had always been under Chinese suzerainty.

In the cut and thrust of debate the cat is often out of the bag. Knowing that he had been in the wrong, Mr. Nehru need not have challenged members to tell him what he could have done. But this dogmatism and assertiveness often lead him into situations whence he cannot escape without blurring out the truth. It was into such a situation that Prof. Ranga led him and he could not but blurt out the truth, and give away his whole case, in order to silence him.

Vis-a-vis Mr. Nehru's condemnation of western nations' colonialism, his observations on Chinese and Russian colonialism obviously constitute siding with one group. So what becomes of his observation that the attitude that India should side with this or that group "is not one which a mature and self-respecting nation should adopt"? Have we not been siding with one group in the garb of neutrality? And siding, as events have shown, with the wrong group?

I have read the Prime Minister's retort to Mr. Ranga again and again — and I would request the reader to do the same — and every succeeding time I have read it with a greater sense of humiliation and almost a sinking of heart. Surely this was not a state of affairs with which a self-respecting nation or a self-respecting Prime Minister could have been content for such a long time. It was obviously such a humiliating state of affairs for an independent government that all its energies should have been directed towards getting rid of it. What the Prime Minister said in effect was that he was afraid of raising his voice against the subjugation of Tibet. He was afraid of the consequences: "he would have got into deep waters and not been able to keep his head above". And yet he has been calling India a great country, a self-respecting country, a mature country and an independent country. And he has also been saying there is no sense of fear in him.

FORT OF FLATTERY

Mr. Nehru's India reminds me of a highly self-respecting individual who had the misfortune to have a hefty bully for his neighbour. His very self-respect demanded that he remain

on good terms with the bully, and annoying him was out of the question. The bully knows whom he can bully and, the more the gentleman tried to keep him pleased, the greater and more offensive became the bullying, until covetous eyes on his daughters were accompanied by indecent remarks. The gentleman left the place. But, fortunately or unfortunately, we cannot leave India. Mr. Nehru can certainly leave his place but nobody leaves a place of unquestioned authority unless he is driven out. There is no parallel to the withdrawal of the British from India.

It did not strike Mr. Nehru throughout all those long years—was he a victim of his own make-believe diplomacy of flattery?—that he would be in much deep waters with Tibet in Chinese control, and not only the time to protest but also the time for action was when China was trying to occupy Tibet—not in the interest of Dalai Lama but in the interests of India. It did not strike him because Mr. Nehru has not learnt the elementary lesson of politics—that there is no generosity in politics. He was hoping for the best, of course, but hoping against hope. For, did he not know what had happened to the neighbours of Soviet Russia, after the war? A Government which bases its policy on wishful thinking builds a fortress on sand. The fort of flattery he built has fallen but he refuses to acknowledge that he is aware of it.

I have had bullies for my neighbours like the gentleman referred to above but always found an easy solution of the problem in extremely contemptuous references to them in casual conversation with their sons. They were no doubt conveyed to the father and always gave him the quietus, for a bully is always a coward. Has not China warned the U.S. hundreds of times over Quemoy and Matsu, which are still not Chinese despite Mr. Nehru's vehement and dutiful support of the Communist Chinese Government's stand?

Mr. Nehru said there was some point in raising one's voice when it was meant to be followed up by action, and added, "We could not take any action in Tibet at that time or later." Not singly. Granted. But did we try to stop China's march towards India in alliance with the Western Powers? Reports in the newspapers at the time were that President Truman had offered Mr. Nehru armed support to prevent China from occupying Tibet. Even assuming that the reports were incorrect, it was Mr. Nehru's business to seek American and British support to that end. Did he do it? Obviously not. If he had done so and got a refusal from them, he would have been in a position to say that "after raising his voice, he would have got into deep waters and not been able to keep his head above".

Indeed, the occasion was not for raising his voice and protesting, as Mr. Ranga suggested,

but for seeking military assistance and even a military alliance to prevent Chinese occupation of Tibet, not only because it would have been in consonance with our anti-colonial policies but also because it would have prevented India from becoming vulnerable to Chinese aggression. A stitch in time saves nine and only the brave deserve the fair. When the nation's security demanded action against China, he resorted to flattery of China and of Russia. Mr. Nehru's part in the Bandung Conference was summed up by journalists there as flattery of China and of Chou En-lai. Himself susceptible to flattery, he thought it would work against the Communists and make them forget their *kalma* of world conquest—yes—make them forget the words of their Master, Lenin: "The road to London lies through Peking and Calcutta". He said in so many words that he believed in appeasement. And now he says, "India, as he has often said in the House (Lok Sabha) has to consider the fact of a great and powerful country, aggressive and expansive, coming near our borders." India will have long to consider it. How can she forget that great fact—Mr. Nehru's greatest achievement?

Mr. Nehru's objection to alignment has been that under it we shall lose our freedom of independent action and judgment. (Pakistan seems to have retained both.) We have seen how we retained our freedom of independent action and judgment under his pseudo-non-alignment, only to find ourselves going abegging for alignment at unwilling doors!

(continued from page 6)

communist States do (and as India is doing by stages) is to dissolve society into a maelstrom of anarchy out of which can emerge only a barbarous dictatorship and not any humane regime.

To estimate the role of property, it requires social imagination of a rational constructive kind, a rare kind of vision backed by knowledge of human nature.

On the last day of the May session of Parliament the Seventeenth Amendment to the Constitution was introduced to enable the extension of the scope of land reforms fixing ceilings and compensation in Kerala and elsewhere to **ryotwari land** as well. This was struck down by the Supreme Court and hence this amendment will nullify the decision of the Court, as usual. The subject will be taken up in the August session which will be an opportunity to the educated classes to do their duty by the people and lay bare the full nature and reach of the consequences for the social order entailed by such destruction of property rights.

ECONOMIC SUPPLEMENT**PROBLEM OF RISING PRICES**

by

Prof. G. N. Lawande, M.A.

Though we have completed two five-year plans and two years of the Third Plan, yet our planners wedded to socialist pattern of society have failed to solve the basic problem, namely, of rising prices and as a result of this factor the economic growth of our economy has recorded a slow progress in spite of huge investment made during the last twelve years. At present the prices of all essential commodities have registered an upward trend despite the steps taken by the Government to regulate them. Merchants are doing their best to remove the essential articles from the open market and create an artificial scarcity which enable them to make abnormal profits. The poor consumer is finding extremely difficult to make both ends meet. Life has become costlier to the people belonging to the middle class with fixed income. It is maintained by some that the Government should hold the price line in order to accelerate the economic growth of our country but Prof. Vakil has rightly pointed out that there is no such thing as price line. He observes "The word 'line' stands for mathematical concept indicating some precision and the phrase 'holding the price line' suggests that there exists a precise price line and that it is possible for somebody to see that such a price line can be held or maintained by some authority. Nothing can be further from truth. It would be better to understand the phenomenon of price by referring it as the price level and comparing it with the level of the water in the sea. Just as the level of the sea water rises and falls with high-tide and low-tide the price level may also rise and fall. Even when the water of the sea appears somewhat steady it is never completely steady, because there are small ripples and there is some movement in the sea water all the time. The price level, similarly, is never completely steady or fixed and therefore cannot be described as a price line. It is liable to rise and fall. When we use the phrase 'stabilise the price level' it is only the relative stability that we must think of. Complete stability in a fixed straight line is not possible". Thus we see that there is no such thing as price line or level. Prices rise or fall and as a result of these changes imbalances are created and progress is retarded. Prices play an important role in planning. In a free enterprise economy prices are determined by the forces of demand and supply while in totally planned economy like Russia prices are controlled by the Government to achieve certain objectives but in a mixed

economy like ours where the public and private sectors play their roles, the problem of stabilising the price level becomes more or less complex. In a mixed economy the prices of certain goods are controlled, while the prices of other goods may not be controlled, they may be subject to the forces of demand and supply, but even in the cases of these goods the Government is anxious to regulate their prices with the result that there is a conflict in the economy due to interaction of these two sets of prices subject to different treatment. Besides the process of development has some effect on prices. It is maintained that in a developing economy a rise in price is inevitable but the Committee for Economic Development has discarded this idea on the ground that there are other forces that could convert a creep into a gallop, and secondly a rising price level is not essential to real growth and sustained productive employment.

There are various causes to the recent rise in prices but the most important causes are the unsatisfactory performance of the agricultural front, union budget, productive public expenditure and deficit financing. It is estimated that the output of rice has gone down by 23 million tons and the production of other foodgrains has not been satisfactory. At the same time demand for food and other industrial raw materials has been expanding at a faster rate, stimulated by the annual increase in population at the rate of 8 million people and the addition to industrial capacity under the development plans. Further the Government has exported some of these scarce commodities in order to earn foreign exchange which has aggravated the problem. What is urgently required is a co-ordinated and decisive action not the pompous ministerial statements. If the Government had given more attention to crucial problem like the agricultural production, unemployment and rising prices they would have rendered greater service to the impoverished masses of this country. Mr. Nehru and his colleagues should attend to the basic problem of rising prices and not try to invest in projects as such a policy will lead to inflation which unsettles social and economic life of the people with fixed incomes while it benefits the unproductive speculators. As a result of rising prices a common man has become cynical about economic development itself when he is asked to exhibit "flaming and raging enthusiasm" for building up new India. His enthusiasm has vanished into thin air. To add fuel to the fire

June 15, 1963

the Government has imposed additional duties under the Central Budget for 1963-64 and severe curbs on imports of several components and raw materials. The budgeted expenditure of Central and State Governments for 1963-64 is about Rs. 700 crores higher than that in 1962-63. This also exerts a heavy pressure on prices. There has already been a steady increase in the volume of money supply with the public especially during the last four or five months. It would not be surprising if the upward trend in currency in circulation were to go up even during the ensuing slack season which will begin in a few weeks. Besides in the coming months the supply of a larger number of consumer goods available for civilian consumption may shrink as they will be diverted to military personnel. Besides, the Government in order to achieve rapid economic development has resorted to deficit financing and the effect of such a policy on prices is more damaging. Deficit financing is a process by means of which money is created at the behest of the Government and goes into circulation. The abundance of money without proportionate increase in the supply of goods leads to a fall in the value of money or rise in prices. In the Second Plan the Government had resorted to the deficit financing to the tune of Rs. 1185 crores and in the Third Plan it is proposed to create additional Rs. 559 crores. The net result of such a policy in the coming years will be that the prices of the essential commodities will tend to rise and the common man will be put into serious difficulties as he will not be able to balance his budget. In such a case the Government thinks of regulating the prices so that the supply of essential goods can be assured at a reasonable price. We cannot use totalitarian methods to stabilise prices. The most effective method in the matter of essential goods is to adopt the policy of rationing and control which presupposes the procurement of supplies but this policy as we have seen during the Second War has resulted in blackmarketing because it has miserably failed in almost all parts of our country. Spokesmen of the Federation of Indian Merchants Chamber have advanced the thesis that it is precisely because of the measures taken by the Government prices of the essential commodities have shot up. There is an atmosphere of uncertainty about the future which leads to hoarding. The trading community appears to be determined to ignore all appeals by the authorities to maintain the stable price level. It shows that the steps taken by the Government are not adequate. Immediate action which is more drastic and comprehensive is called for. The authorities will have to be extremely vigilant and careful. They should take all possible steps to restrain the increase in the money supply, promptly curb the speculative tendencies and keep the interest rates at a higher level but how far our authorities will be able to meet the challenge is problematical. One thing which is certain from this is that planned economy has failed to solve the basic problem; on the con-

ditions. What is necessary is to reverse the present policy of expanding the activities of the public sector at the cost of the private sector. Proper atmosphere should be created by the authorities to enable the private sector to play its role in the economic development of our country. We do require the basic industries but not at the cost of agriculture which is the most basic industry in all countries and especially in an underdeveloped country like ours. The root cause of the rising prices is the neglect of agriculture in the Second Plan period; this must be reversed and the first priority should be given to the agriculture. Food and especially the cereals form the biggest item in the family budget of the ordinary citizen. We have large stocks of P.L. 480 food supplies from U.S.A. which will help us to keep the prices of cereals within limits as it will be possible for the Government to sell these stocks at reasonable prices. This may ease the situation temporarily but it is not a permanent cure. What is required is the business-like attitude to massive investment in agriculture. The country must get sufficient return from every rupee invested in agriculture but that can be achieved provided we adopt a realistic policy towards agriculture. A bureaucratic approach can only retard progress in a field where so much depends upon individual initiative. It is because of this approach that the community development projects have failed so far to make much impact on agricultural yield. Agricultural production can be increased to bring down the rising prices if the farmers are given incentive to produce more by supplying him fertilizers, better seeds and up-to-date farm tools. The annual rate of increase per acre during the last ten years is only 1.6 which is lower than the annual rate of growth of population which is 2.5. What is urgently required to stabilise the price level is more agricultural productivity and this can be attained by creating proper atmosphere in rural areas. Co-operative farming will not solve the problem.

U.S.S.R. PRIVATE ENTERPRISE

There is a considerable amount of private farming still going on in the U.S.S.R. according to the F.A.O. monthly bulletin. Farm workers are allowed a small plot of land—about one-quarter of a hectare—and a few animals. They spend about one-quarter of their time working these plots, but the land does not belong to them and they have to pay a land tax.

The output from these private plots is very high. One-half of the potato acreage is in private hands and produces sixty-four per cent. of the crop. One-third of the vegetable acreage in private hands produces almost one-half of the crop, and one-half of the fruit orchards in the private sector accounts for sixty-seven per cent. of the total production.

The figures show that an even greater proportion of livestock is privately owned, and yields are twice as high as on the state farms.

June 15, 1963

Business Made Scapegoat For Inflation Folly

By Philip H. Moore (B.Sc.), Durban, South Africa.

MOST of us are conscious of the constant and almost uninterrupted fall in the purchasing power of sterling since the beginning of World War II until today. Before the last war the South African pound was worth about five dollars, but in 1949 it was devalued to about half, namely 2.80 dollars. During the same period the Americans have calculated that their dollar has lost more than half its purchasing power. This shows that the South African pound at best cannot be worth more than 5s. of pre-war money.

During this period there have been immense developments in science and engineering, which have reduced production costs. When one considers that these advantages have also been swallowed up in arriving at the 5s. pound, then it is time this subject received far more attention than hitherto.

Inflation is caused by a rapid expansion in credit or paper money relative to goods and services. There is more paper money but nothing additional to buy, so a greater amount of money is offered for the same volume of goods.

It is the over-supply of money which causes prices to rise. It is not possible, for instance, for the general price level to be increased without the extra money being available with which to pay the higher prices; if the money supply is stopped, then the price level will stabilise.

CONTROLS

Inflation creates several administrative problems. Our politicians, either as a vote-catching device or because they have misunderstood the cause of inflation, demand price controls, rent controls, profit controls and so forth. They employ inspectors, lawyers, arbitrators, boards and commissions in order to enforce these interferences with trade.

The business world is made a scapegoat for inflation, whilst the controls paralyse enterprise and increase costs—costs which must be paid ultimately by—every household in the country.

Records of price controls exist for over 4,000 years, but they have never cured inflation. If the value of money decreases whilst selling prices are controlled it is quite obvious that sooner or later every business will become unprofitable and be forced to close down.

S. A.'s LESSON

Furthermore, others will be deterred from going into the controlled business, realising that profits are a gamble determined by political considerations. The first commodities or services to be controlled are usually what are considered to be the most fundamental for everyday living.

The price controllers decrease the incentive to produce, and thus there comes a shortage of the very commodities that are considered most essential.

South Africa is fortunate in having an excellent lesson in what happens when a controlled selling price is forced on an industry whilst the pound is being inflated.

The fixed gold price, accompanied by increasing costs, has retarded production and incentives to produce gold and, in addition, has caused many mines to close down entirely; unemployment and hardship have not yet become appreciable, but a continuation of this process could be disastrous for South Africa.

Once the mistake of price control has been made on, let us say, an essential product, our administrators find production decreases. There is then a tendency to try to cure the disease (leaving the cause untouched) by rationing the product.

This does nothing to increase supplies and, in fact, assumes a state of shortage. Rationing is unpopular and gives rise to black markets; black markets require inspectors, police, lawyers, etc., and so it continues until the whole economy is distorted and inefficient.

One new control requires further controls; and yet few look at the real cause of the disease, which is an over-supply of money.

SUBSIDIES

Sometimes price control does not set in motion the above development because the course of events is canalised differently—by our legislators employing subsidies. The price of the product is controlled and supplies decrease; therefore, to make possible and encourage increased production, the manufacturer is given a disguised price increase in the form of a subsidy.

Subsidies are again a device to mislead the electorate. The electorate not only pays the subsidy by taxation but, in addition, has to pay the cost of an unnecessary bureaucracy which must administer the subsidy. All South Africans have been, and still are, hindered by these laws.

Inflation is a hidden tax. By decreasing the value of money the taxpayer is sooner or later forcibly elevated into a higher tax group and his payments become an increasing percentage of his income. To be comparable with pre-war conditions, supertax, for example, should not commence (with a 5s. pound) until an income reaches about £10,000 per annum.

Inflation and high taxes dilute and decrease the funds that are available for new ventures; future employment and living standards are endangered. Pensioners, who are living on constant incomes, and the small saver who has invested in fixed-interest securities, find themselves in adverse circumstances.

DISILLUSIONED

These groups, which include the middle classes, become disillusioned and restive. They see the speculator and those who have invested in real assets relatively well off; they are often too old to

(continued on page IV)

Free Enterprise And Economic Crises

By Dr. Ludwig Erhard

In the western part of Germany certain circles appear to have some doubts on whether a free enterprise system of the type practised in the Federal Republic of Germany, and, among other countries, the United States of America, was really in a position to protect the national economy from crises. The doubts centre mainly on the question of how far it is possible under a free enterprise system to plan ahead correctly, to think ahead correctly and to calculate in advance. There are discussions if a planned economy of the modern type, prevailing for instance in France or Italy, would not be the best solution also for the Federal Republic of Germany.

Thinking Ahead not Forbidden

To begin with, I want to say that it is by no means forbidden to think ahead in a free enterprise system. In such a system too one should well consider what will happen tomorrow and how one can influence developments in the best possible way. Take, for instance, the situation of the European Common Market. If the phrase "Common Market" is to become a reality I consider it a complete contradiction and an almost impossible thing that planned national economies could still function in such a market. In practice this would mean that national economic plans would have to harmonize with each other in order to avoid a ruinous race of national interests. But there are still other reasons why I am opposed to this type of planned economy.

Inherent Dynamics

I am convinced that the free enterprise system, effective in the Federal Republic of Germany under the name "Soziale Marktwirtschaft", is, thanks to its inherent dynamics, better suited to adjust itself to changes and to overcome emerging crises than any other economic system. The more freely a market can function and the less it is restricted by government ties or arrangements of syndicates, the more immediately it can react. Then each critical development is already carrying elements of the cure. Although we find ourselves formally still in a world of national States, one should already be aware of the fact that an isolated national policy as such can hardly be more than a memory of the past. The idea of an indivisible and common fate of all free peoples is already alive in the minds of us, Europeans.

The patterns of thinking of the past have become useless to all nations. The fate of Hamburg or Munich will eventually be the same as that of the people in Paris or Rome, and their lot will in turn be not much different from that of the population of New York or London.

Stormy Development

The stormy development of science and engineering, of economy, traffic and weapons, has

so basically changed our present existence that practical politics in particular must take into account this process. In the world-wide struggle on all levels of life, isolated national States are doomed to sterility or even extinction. Experience is pointing against splitting up actions for their political, economic and military consequences. Actions must no longer be based on mere expediency or usefulness from a purely national point of view. The alliance of the Western peoples must close its ranks in order to achieve an increasingly effective and comprehensive political, economic and military community. Thus it will become the strongest bulwark of freedom. European unification must be completed in the interest of the continent's freedom and self-preservation. All States, which are striving to join this community, deserve understanding and a readiness to compromise on the part of those already joined together. Additional members can only help to strengthen the community and to make it more lasting.

—German News (Weekly).

(continued from page III)

re-earn further security and, finally, they blame free enterprise and look to other forms of social order. Free enterprise is accused when it is the innocent party.

Agitators thrive on such a situation; they suggest socialism or communism as the answer! As Judge van Orsdel wrote: "...the history of civilization proves that when a citizen is deprived of the free use of his property, anarchy and revolution follow and life and liberty are without protection."

COMMUNISTS HAVE NO USE FOR PROPERTY, FREEDOM AND FAMILY

It is undisputed that Communists have no use for God and the Chinese have completely exterminated recently the Lamas of Tibet. They have no use for property, the whole rural population of China being deprived of their houses and being compelled to live in common dormitories. It has no use for Freedom, all employment being entirely at the discretion of government. It has no sanctity for human rights, revolution at home, and war abroad being the order of its development. It is an economic collapse, China even depending for food from abroad to save her people dying of starvation. It is committed to end democracy by force and fraud. Parliament must insist that Government, if it is democratic, should make this information available to the people.

—J. M. Lobo Prabhu in *Insight*.

June 15, 1963

THE TRAGEDY OF NEHRUISM

By KAUNDINYA

MR. NEHRU, while at Bombay, launched a vituperative attack on the Swatantra Party. Why? That too in these days of emergency? Has the Prime Minister no better job? In Nehru are centered two focal points of socialistic dogma—implicit subservience to the State and an intolerance of those who differ from it. He claims to be a great democrat who can swiftly feel the pulse of the people. But he has yet to realize that opinions differ. Cold welcome to Gold Control Order and the new budget proposals from the public and the countless embarrassing situations like NEFA defeats, Patnaik episode, etc., made him realise that public opinion is growing against our present rulers. To add fuel to the fire, the by-elections have come. The national prestige of the congress is at its lowest ebb. Truth is bitter but one must admit that the unwarranted attack of the Prime Minister on the opposition can be attributed to a sense of frustration. Being in an uncomfortable position, he tries now to beat down all opposition by sheer demagoguery.

Mr. Nehru says: that "Swatantra Party is a unique party. Its ideals are wrong. It is an outdated party and it has a very little influence in the country". According to him, therefore, his party the Congress, is not a 'unique' party. Its ideals are praiseworthy and flawless. It is the most progressive party. In spite of these, one wonders why the country should be in a mess after fifteen years of continuous congress rule. Ill fares the Congress Welfare State. Nehru's socialistic pattern instead of bringing down heaven to earth is itself ending in smoke. Under the Nehru regime, even those who were found guilty by more than one public inquiry committees have been honoured with Ministership. Even the discarded ones may join the Cabinet when the storm subsides.

According to the Prime Minister, the Swatantra Party is moving towards communalism. Which party is above Communalism? Is not the Congress party today the fountain-head of all machinations, malpractices and frauds? Did not the Congress join hands with Muslim League in Kerala? The evil in the Swatantra Party is negligible when compared to the Augean stables of the Congress organisation. This charge, even if it be true, is like kettle calling the pot black. Joining hands with the communalists for a limited purpose is not so bad as the unholy collusion of Congressmen with the Communists. Democracy and Communism are irreconcilable. In the Red dictionary 'Democracy' means the sole right of the comrades alone to propagate their views, dogmas and doctrines. Even Castro of Cuba claimed that he was a democratic socialist until he got rid of his powerful rivals. Socialism is a convenient shield for the communists in the free world to subvert democracy. It inevitably leads to totalitarianism. When Mr. Dwivedy wanted

to know what action the Government is taking to curb the activities of the parties with extra-territorial loyalties, the Prime Minister said that he could not understand whom the member referred to. Our beloved mother country must be weeping at the sight of our leaders lost still in the illusory world of their own-creation. Our Premier further stated that mere membership of Communist Party is not a crime and no action is and will be taken against those communists who have condemned China and have pledged their support to India. He has not learnt that 'communist pledges are no better than pie-crust-made only to be broken'. (Frank Moraes)

Prime Minister is seized of the allegations against his cabinet colleagues in the account books of a Calcutta firm. Being emotional, he often fails to see reason. His choleric temper induces him to indulge in unnecessary mudslinging to divert the public attention. Nehru is the Chiang Kai Sheik of India. Chiang failed because he thought he was China. Nehru knows that Pakistan is a skin-disease while communism (China) is a disease of the lungs. He knows the disease and the cure too. But the remedy curiously eludes him. Nehru is a precious jewel. He is above corruption, purer than purity. But he suffers fools and careerists gladly. New Delhi and the Congress Party stinks with the odour of corruption. He cares little for this so long things move in favour of his politics and the connected persons are in his good books. Between his party and the people the gulf is ever yawning. That's the end of Nehruism.

The Swatantra road, he said, will lead the country nowhere. 'West German Miracle' was achieved by the very same principles of Swatantra. But his Avadi Socialist road has led Mao to India. Has he pondered over this?

Frank Moraes, the talented editor recently wrote: "In India today there is none to restrain or guide Nehru. He is Caesar. And from Caesar one can appeal only to Caesar." How apt, true and yet tragic!

ANTIDOTE TO POWER

The less government we have, the better — the fewer laws, the less confided power. The antidote to this abuse of formal Government is the influence of private character, the growth of the Individual; the appearance of the principal to supersede the proxy; the appearance of the wise man, of whom the existing government is, it must be owned, a shabby imitation. That which all things tend to educe, which freedom, cultivation, intercourse, revolutions, go to form and deliver, is character; that is the end of nature, to reach unto this coronation of her king.... The appearance of character makes the State unnecessary. The wise-man needs no army, fort or navy — he loves men too well — **Ralph Waldo Emerson.**

DELHI LETTER

The Aftermath of Amroha

(From Our Correspondent)

The Opposition to the Congress has secured three thumping victories against the ruling party in the recent by-election to the Lok Sabha. But for the defeat of the Jana Sangh General Secretary at Jaunpur at the hands of a little-known Congressman, the discomfiture of the Congress have been complete, as also the jubilation in the Opposition Camp. These victories against the Congress have their own lesson to teach—that the various parties can find their strength reflected in the legislatures of the land if they stop cutting each other's throat for the benefit of the Congress. We have yet to learn that we should not play the opponent's game, and that we can all play it in many ways. Our Government, for example, has been playing the Communist game without perhaps realising it. Dr. Lohia has been playing the Prime Minister's game without realising it, for it is hardly conceivable that we would knowingly play the game of the man he detests.

Iron has entered the soul of Acharya Kripalani, who, according to no less a person than the only daughter of the Prime Minister, is not a national leader. It will be folly to ridicule a lady who nominates Chief Ministers and Congress Presidents, but it must be said that the victory of Acharya Kripalani is all the greater if he is not a national leader. Messrs. Menon and Malaviya, who put up Hafiz Mohammad Ibrahim against Acharya Kripalani, forgot that the evoking of the communal spirit in the 38 per cent of the Amroha Constituency electorate could evoke a counter communal spirit in the remaining 62 percent., and that it would not be difficult to realise for the latter that a double game was being played in asking the Muslims to vote for Hafizji, a man who knows the Holy Koran by heart, and the Hindus to vote for the Congress candidate.

Quite a number of Muslim divines, Congress-minded of course, took part in the election, for, as the Kashmir Prime Minister put it, victory had to be won at all costs. He knows how he secures it in Kashmir. It is to be hoped in the interests of democracy that this "victory-at-all-costs" slogan will not be adopted by the Congress as it finds itself losing its hold on the people. The last time we had these Muslim divines doing propaganda for the Congress was against Jinnah in the late thirties when he was called a Kafir by them. He had to be downed "at all costs" and so they were asked to tell fellow Muslims that Jinnah does not say his 'namaz', he does not observe the Ramazan fasts, etc. It was part of the Mass Contact programme conceived by Rafi Ahmed Kidwai. Yet even

Maulana Azad is found wondering in his "India Wins Freedom" what it was that made Jinnah so bitter. "At all costs" has always been the slogan of the Congress and the Opposition had better beware. The Opposition victories have been eye-openers for the Congress and the eyes have opened with clenched teeth.

SOCIALIST UNITY

Inaugurating the Socialist Unity Conference at Lucknow, Acharya Kripalani, the Lion of Amroha as he deserves to be called—28 ministers opposed him there!—stressed the obvious, and yet not so obvious to many Socialists, that it was "necessary to arrest the downward trend in the political life and check the vagaries of the Congress Governments which have brought us to our present sorry state in internal and external affairs." For that purpose the President of the Conference, Dr. P. C. Ghosh, conveyed the anxiety of the electorate that the democratic opposition should be strengthened. As a preliminary to that end an electoral alliance among all the democratic opposition parties, as Acharya Kripalani pointed out, is absolutely necessary. And as a first step towards that electoral alliance, the forging of Socialist Unity is obviously called for.

Acharya Kripalani pointed out—and the fact cannot be over-emphasised—that the success against the Congress both at Amroha and Rajkot was due to a straight fight between the Congress and the various democratic parties and even Dr. Lohia's success was to a large extent due to the combination of different parties against the Congress. The Acharya spelt out a six-point minimum common programme for all democratic opposition parties to unite against the Congress. He and those who think like him should seriously consider whether the points in the minimum common programme cannot be reduced to the irreducible minimum—one—"OUST THE CONGRESS." For the Congress today is a house of cards built on the sands of permits and licences. When they are no longer available to its adherents it will fall, leaving its members to choose their parties according to their convictions, and all the parties uniting against the Congress will stand to benefit from the process of dissolution of the Congress. For the Congress today really consists of Socialists, Communists, Jan Sanghis, Hindu Sabhaites, Swatantrists and what not, whose one common cementing programme is to obtain permits and licences. So the Opposition parties — and Communists are not in the Opposition, as any one can see — should unite for their own bene-

fit as well as to promote honest democracy in the country.

The Socialist Unity Conference called upon the workers of the Socialist and Praja Socialist parties to take up the task of unity in their hands, saying that the unification of the forces of democratic socialism should be unconditional and "after merger a committee of eminent Socialists should be set up to draft the details of a policy statement and programme and manifestos for approval by a national conference of socialists at some future date". The Conference requested Messrs Kripalani and P. C. Ghosh to intervene and negotiate the merger not only of Socialist and Praja Socialist parties but also of all believers in democratic socialism. On the very day the Socialist Unity Conference passed these resolutions, Dr. Lohia in Delhi laid down the Socialist Party's conditions for joining forces with the other Opposition parties against the Congress on the basis of a minimum programme.

He said this minimum programme should be a concrete and comprehensive one, without apparently realising the inherent antipathy between "minimum" and "comprehensive". Such are our leaders! He seems to have a very confused mind for he talked of seeking the co-operation of the Communists on certain issues, of the Jana Sanghis on other issues, and of the Swatantra Party on yet other issues. The only party with which co-operation seemed to be impossible to him was the PSP, for he made no mention of it. He was for joint action on specific issues, now with one party and then with another — and never with the PSP? This joint action on specific issues with one party is also incidentally against the others with whom he contemplates joint action on other specific issues. So Dr. Lohia proposes to co-operate with all opposition parties by turns and condemn all other parties by turns — except of course the PSP which is to be presumably condemned at every turn, leaving the Socialist Party alone uncondemned. Very clever all this, although a result of extremely confused thinking.

It is being hoped here that his recent success has not befuddled his mind beyond all recovery. On the same day at a public meeting at which he condemned the Congress and Mr. Nehru in the severest terms, he said there was only one way out of the present crisis and that was: the Government must be changed and for this the opposition parties must put up a common front against the Congress. But the trouble with him is that he soon forgets the sensible proposition that he sometimes advances — not only forgets it but proceeds to controvert it in as many ways as he can, and his ways are unfortunately innumerable and almost co-extensive with his learning. Only if some of our leaders will try not to forget the main objective, and try it as hard as they can, for it is not so difficult after all to remember it always, having regard to the fact that the main objective is only one and need not be

lost sight of whenever words begin to flow from their loquacious lips.

The Socialist Party Chairman — true **chela**, if ever there was one, of Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia — Mr. Raj Narain described the Socialist Unity Conference as the work of "a few politically frustrated and opportunistic individuals". His complaint was that the Unity Conference did not condemn the PSP for its failure to withdraw its candidate against Dr. Lohia, but he forgot that the object of the Socialist Unity Conference was to promote unity and not discord among Socialists. Even then his description of Acharya Kripalani and P. C. Ghosh as "frustrated and opportunistic" will take some beating. His objection to the Acharya's six-point minimum programme was that his points were vague, again forgetting that unity cannot be brought about by precision in details which can only reveal differences so long as men have their own minds to think with and are unable to borrow Dr. Lohia's or Mr. Raj Narain's. (That in fact seems to be their real complaint.)

At the Press Conference at Lucknow, following Dr. Lohia's at New Delhi, he had to shift his ground several times in attempting to justify the proposed alliance with the Jana Sangh. Obviously that is because the Socialist leaders strike so many mutually contradictory attitudes without realising that they are contradictory! So it is not really a question of coming unprepared to a Press Conference. The trouble lies in the determination to follow a leader with an extremely confused mind, and that determination is born of the profit motive. For, who ever would have heard of Mr. Raj Narain but for the fact that Dr. Lohia made him chairman of the Socialist Party? So he said the Jana Sangh had tried to come nearer to the Socialist Party by subscribing to the "Himalaya Bachao" and "Angrezi Hatao" policies. Consider, dear reader, the statesmanship concentrated in the "policy" of "Angrezi Hatao". Can there be a greater plea for brainlessness with all the zeal of patriotism in it? Or a greater plea for injustice and, if injustice is immoral, for immorality? Thus the Himalayas are apparently to be saved by a further division of the country or at least by promoting civil war in the land.

It is a most distressing confession to make but I have in my career of over forty years found little evidence of the existence of the spirit of fair-play among the Hindi-speaking people. Has it nothing to do with Hindi? The very enthusiasm with which the cause of Hindi is being advanced by those obviously interested in the advance of Hindi is proof positive of the absence of the spirit of justice and fairplay in them. I have often seen British children coming to their father or mother with the question, "Papa, is that fair?" or "Mama, is that fair?" I have naturally passed much more time with Indians than with Englishmen, but I have never seen any Indian child coming to his father or mother with

that question. Nor for the matter of that, have I ever seen any adult agitated by the question, "Is that fair?" Is there no common, colloquial word in Hindi for 'fair'? If there is, why is it not in use? Is it because it does not matter? And what matters is personal gain.

Mr. Raj Narain is also a bit of a dictator for he announced that a number of Socialist leaders, including Mr. Shibbanlal Saxena, had been served with show-cause notices to explain why disciplinary action should not be taken against them for breaking party discipline. The victory of Dr. Lohia should apparently be properly celebrated. The attempt to forge unity between the two Socialist wings has resulted in another wing for the Socialist Party — the Socialist Unity Wing comprising the Socialist and the PSP members. This wing holds promise of expanding and leaving the two old parties high and dry to quarrel among themselves.

Mr. Raj Narain incidentally alleged victimisation of officials in Amroha and Farrukhabad where "large scale transfers are being made or have been ordered". If that is so, his warning to the ruling party of the dangerous consequences of this action to democracy cannot be said to be unjustified. The Press will no doubt be waiting and watching to see if there is any truth in the allegation of Mr. Raj Narain, and the public also will doubtless hear a lot more about it, if it is true. Congressmen have for a long time been used to thinking that they can get away with things, but it seems those days are numbered now.

Book Review

NATURAL RIGHTS by David G. Ritchie (Muirhead Library of Philosophy) George Allen and Unwin, London. Fifth Impression. Price 21 s. nett.

This work by Professor Ritchie is being re-issued every few years from the time of its first publication more than 70 years ago. The author describes it as a criticism of some political and ethical conceptions. He deals on the plane of first principles with the basic issues of political thought (with their ethical penumbra) connected with the famous idea of natural law and natural rights, with which speculation on these matters began again after the renaissance in modern Europe.

The crystallisation of nation states, the conflicts between them and with the church and the controversy over the rights of sovereigns *vis-a-vis* the Pope and *vis-a-vis* their people raged fiercely through the years of the reformation and the counter-reformation.

The old notion of natural law, not made by kings and Popes was revived by thinkers of all schools and interpreted to suit their own cause.

Hobbes first used the idea of a state of nature with its law of the jungle ended by a social contract giving absolute powers to the ruler. He stressed the Might of the ruler as the source of

law and hence of power. Spinoza gave his own version of the law of nature trying to use "might" in the interest of ethics—a most unsuccessful effort.

John Locke's attempt was very influential in supporting the bloodless Revolution in England of 1688 which turned out the Stuarts once for all and installed William of Orange under a sort of Bill of Rights, assuring the sovereignty of Parliament and through it of the British citizen. This became the pattern of the Constitutions of the United States after 1776 and of France after its Revolution of 1789. These were inspired by the form given to the doctrine by Rousseau. We have incorporated these natural rights of liberty, equality and fraternity and the fundamental rights in our Constitution of 1950.

But are there any natural rights at all, clear and unambiguous, the same for all races and all conditions of society?

Clearly there are **not**. We have to spell them out in terms of the conditions involved in our own spheres of social experience—conditions that **actually** make for the equal happiness of all.

There are no **a priori** rights laid down in the heavens once for all but human nature in society dictates certain uniformities or laws which can be discovered by impartial thought intent on public good. These would be **natural rights** in the sense of the condition that **ought to be** guaranteed by a just society and state to all its members at any stage of development in order to lead to the greatest good of all. This lesson is brought home through a full historical discussion, characterised by insight and wisdom, in this volume by Professor Ritchie which is yet full of illuminating suggestion for new countries striving to realise democracy in today's conditions.

—M. A. VENKATA RAO.

The Mind of the Nation

AN OUTRAGE

Either the right hand of the Central Government does not know what its left hand is doing or many of the officials are directly disobeying the orders of the Ministers. Last Tuesday, the Union Home Minister told the Southern Zonal Council that English would continue to be an official language of the Centre for an indefinite period without any restrictions whatsoever, and that a circular reported to have been issued by his own Ministry on the use of Hindi in Central Government offices had been misunderstood. There was only an office memo in existence, dated March 27, 1961, which had said that "in selected sections and for a limited purpose" Hindi could be used for noting if seventy-five per cent of the staff knew that language. In any case the notes would have to be translated into English.

This unsavoury episode strongly suggests that those who have their suspicions of the Official Languages Act are being proved correct. The refusal to provide that English shall continue to be used, merely promising that it may, created uneasiness which is being justified as secret circulars are coming to light one by one. That Act, fortified by the Prime Minister's assurance that English shall remain as long as the non-Hindi-speaking people want it, casts upon the Central Government the duty of ensuring that the two

languages are equally honoured in its offices. But what seems to weigh more with some of the departments is the provision that the use of Hindi should be progressively increased than that the use of English should remain unimpeded. It is bad enough that a half-formed language, totally unable to bear the burdens the fanatics would place upon it, should have been made one of the two languages of administration of a country like India. It is infinitely worse that underhand attempts should be made to make it the sole language, directly against the express wishes of Parliament.

—Indian Express

News & Views

VIOLENT FLARE-UP ALONG SOVIET BORDER WITH CHINA

LONDON, June 1 (NAFEN).

Sensational details of recent bloodshed and violence along China's border with Soviet Russia in Central Asia are contained in full reports which have now reached the West, reports the "Sunday Telegraph."

They have focussed attention on the critical boundary issue, which is expected to become a live one shortly following the conclusion of the impending Chinese-Afghan frontier delimitation talks in Kabul.

Any final settlement of the Chinese-Afghan border will bring into sharp question the adjoining Sino-Soviet border, which has never been delimited by any treaty.

The Chinese recently gave a clear hint that they may seek a revision of the existing border arrangements with Russia.

Reports now available here tell of Russian encouragement and sympathy for national minority uprisings against the Chinese Communist authorities in Sinkiang.

The most serious outbreaks have centred on the towns of Kuldja and Tacheng, both near the Russian border.

* * *

AMERICA'S AIM: A STABLE DEMOCRATIC ASIA

Stability and freedom in the Far East is America's objective. To achieve this, the United States seeks a "system of stable, independent, free and prosperous nations" in this area.

Roger Hilsman, Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs, emphasised these points in a radio interview in Washington last week.

Mr. Hilsman pointed out that such a prospect has been dimmed by Communist Chinese violation of international laws and agreements. The State Department official cited Communist China's recent aggression against India.

What the United States would like to see on the Chinese mainland, Mr. Hilsman stressed, is a "democratic government, responsive to the needs of its people and responsible in international politics." He added, however, that he doubted "if we will see this in a Communist regime."

* * *

'ARMS AID ACCORD STILL FAR'

LONDON

The "Financial Times" said that it was unlikely any agreement on arms aid to India would be reached during the visit to Britain of Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari.

The paper said: "The Indian Government is disappoint-

ed at the manner in which its original 'shopping list' has been severely cut back in talks with the British and the U.S. Governments.

"Moreover, it is clear that Britain remains unwilling at least as long as the Himalayan frontier remains quiet to wholly disregard Pakistani susceptibilities in fixing the level of military aid.

"Thus, the failure to achieve any progress in Indo-Pakistani exchanges on Kashmir is bound to act as a limiting factor on arms supplies."

The paper added: "The Indian Government is also concerned at a possible tendency to link the amount of military assistance to the question of development aid. The Aid India Consortium is due to meet in Paris next week. It now looks as though the aid to be pledged by the various consortium members is likely to fall well short of the 1,250 million dollars, which the Indian Government had hoped to obtain."

* * *

U.S. AIR UNITS READY TO RUSH INTO INDIA IF INVADED AGAIN

Sources usually reflecting the American point of view said, there was a possibility of the United States soon assigning some fighter-squadrons based for the present outside India for duty against the Chinese on the Sino-Indian frontier.

They would move into India and spring into action only if the Chinese unleash fresh attacks this summer. Otherwise they would remain in the present bases outside Indian soil.

Meanwhile long-range aid to India would get started to put India in a position to contain the Chinese.

It was asserted confidently by reliable sources that there was no longer any question of United States deciding whether to give India long range assistance. This was as certain as economic assistance.

* * *

BURMA ALARMED AT CHINA'S MAP TECHNIQUE

The devices that China has of late employed to postpone settlement of the border disputes with India, and the *modus operandi* she has employed to create confusion among the neighbouring nations have combined to alert them to a new alarm. China has been employing the map offensive method to all of them. Her 9000 mile land border makes her neighbour to the Communist countries of Soviet Union, Mongolia, North Korea and North Vietnam, and to diplomatically related Laos, Burma, India, Nepal, Pakistan and Afghanistan.

And observers have brought to limelight a note in the Chinese atlas about the Burmese Boundary.

It reads, "These problems await the establishment of a People's Burma, and the final victory of the Asian People's Revolution; then they can receive complete and reasonable solution."

Meanwhile the non-aggression treaty and boundary agreement signed by General Ne Win, Burma's Prime Minister on 28th January 1960 and ratified later had provided a border survey which has not been made upto this. In the context of China's reported moving of her army to the borders of Nepal, the anxieties of her uneasy neighbours have become stirred again.

CHINESE INTRUDE INTO NEFA: DELHI ONLY PROTESTS

NEW DELHI.

Twenty Chinese in blue uniforms intruded into the Indian territory of NEFA on April 26.

They came from Magyitun to Alubari. Ten of them proceeded to Saosi, about three miles from Longju, and stayed there from morning till late afternoon.

The Indian Government strongly protested against "this unwarranted violation" of Indian territory "which is patently contrary to China's professed aims of finding a peaceful solution to Indo-China differences and designed purely to foment tension between the two countries."

A note just handed over to Peking's representative here said the act also falsified China's claim that its Army personnel had completed their plan of withdrawing 20 kilometres away from the line of actual control unilaterally fixed by China.

"Magyitun has been clearly indicated by the Chinese Government in its note of March 2 as a location where a civilian check-post has been established. It is, however, from Magyitun that the Chinese soldiers carried out their provocative, intrusion into Indian territory," it said.

UN SANCTIONS AGAINST USSR?

WASHINGTON.

Authoritative Government officials said here the United States would press strongly for the automatic suspension of the Soviet Union's vote in the United Nations General Assembly if Moscow continues to refuse to pay its full U.N. dues.

The Soviet Union announced last week that it would no longer pay its share of any U.N. operations of which it did not approve.

RAJAGOPALACHARI DEMANDS NEHRU'S RESIGNATION

MADRAS. June 1

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, leader of the Swatantra Party, said here today that the recent by-elections to the Lok Sabha from Uttar Pradesh and Gujarat had shown that the people of the country had lost their faith in the Congress Government.

He demanded the resignation of Prime Minister Nehru as his policies were rejected by the people. "The Finance Minister, Mr. Morarji Desai, is also responsible for the Congress reverses," he said.

Mr. Rajagopalachari, who was addressing a public meeting here, said that in the absence of a referendum, by-elections would be treated as an indication of public opinion. "The people have categorically said that they do not want the present Congress Government to continue," he said.

Mr. Rajagopalachari challenged the Congress Party to vacate more Lok Sabha seats and test their strength again.

He was sure with the united opposition, Congress was sure to be defeated.

The Swatantra leader accused the Congress of taking wrong steps such as Gold Control Order and Compulsory Deposit Scheme. It also tried to exploit communalism in the Amroha constituency, he said.

RAJ NARAIN ALSO WANTS NEHRU TO RESIGN

VARANASI.

Mr. Raj Narain, Chairman of the Socialist Party, has demanded resignation of the Nehru Government and voluntary liquidation of the Praja Socialist Party.

He told a news conference here that the by-election results from Amroha and Farrukhabad clearly showed the faith neither in the Nehru Government nor in the PSP.

He said that Mr. Nehru had staked all his reputation in the two by-elections and "since he has lost both, he has no right to continue in office."

NAMES OF PUNJAB CONGRESS HEADS IN POLICE RECORDS

AMBALA, June 2 (PTT).

Persons whose names are on police records are running the Congress at the mandal level, a senior Punjab Congressman charged today.

The key reason behind the Congress debacle at Amroha and Farrukhabad, according to Sardar Gurdial Singh Dhillon, was the emergence of undesirable elements to party leadership in towns and villages.

Sardar Dhillon, a former Speaker of the State Assembly, told a convention of "radical" Congressmen here that he would send a delegate, a Legislative Council member, to tell Mr. Nehru and Congress President Sanjivayya to explain the "ugly state of affairs."

Sardar Dhillon said that a new type of Congress leadership had taken over in the Punjab at the tehsil level.

Persons whose names occur in police records as bad characters have, through patronage extended to them by big bosses, have risen to the status of mandal presidents.

"That is why the Congress has lost in popular esteem."

WORSE THAN BRITISH RAJ

INDORE.

Mr. Mahavir Tyagi, M.P., said here that there was the worst type of forcible collection for the National Defence Fund.

During the early period of national emergency, the compulsion used in many parts of the country was such as was not heard of even during the British period.

Forcible collection was the worst in U.P. "The force used by officials had quite upset me and annoyed people," he told reporters.

HALTING SPREAD OF COMMUNISM: CARIAPPA'S APPEAL

COIMBATORE.

The formation of a National Democratic Party and the organisation of a labour wing called the Labour Party of India were resolved at the annual convention of the National Democratic Front here. Gen. K. M. Cariappa inaugurated the convention.

By another resolution the convention urged that the activities of the Communist Party should be checked as "the Party had been indulging in activities against the interest of the nation."

Gen. Cariappa stressed the need to take effective steps to counter the spread of Communism.

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"EDUCATIVE & AGITATIONAL" CAMPAIGN AGAINST HINDI

ALL-PARTY LEADERS DECIDE ON THREE-MONTH PROGRAMME

MADRAS,

A three-month-long "educative and agitational" campaign which would bring home to the people in the non-Hindi area the dangers of replacing English with Hindi as the official language of the country, was decided upon at an informal meeting of leaders of different shades of public opinion.

Convened under the auspices of the Union Language Convention which has been spearheading the anti-Hindi movement in the South, the meeting was attended by Mr. C. Rajagopalachari and Mr. C. N. Annadurai.

NO DEPUTATION TO NEHRU

The meeting decided against sending a deputation to the Prime Minister "as it was of no use".

The meeting, which lasted over four hours was held in camera in two sessions at the Srinivasa Sastri Hall, Mylapore. Mr. Rajagopalachari, however, briefed newsmen later at the Kalki Gardens, Kilpauk.

Rajaji said: "We have to educate and agitate as we had to educate and agitate about the need for Swaraj". He said direct action would be necessary after the educative and agitational programme. Though he indicated that direct action was "action in undertaking suffering" it was "premature" to discuss it now.

Leaders of political parties like the D.M.K., the Muslim League and members of the Swatantra Party in the South attended the meeting, besides, non-party men and educationists.

Asked whether any Congressman attended the meeting, Rajaji quipped 'I was there'. He said that they were not asked to attend the meeting.

Dear Editor

I have only just received the Libertarian of 1st and 15th March, and hope you will allow me to comment on two items in these issues.

In the short space of a letter I cannot, obviously, examine the article on Marx's Philosophy of History. However, this article and some comments in the Libertarian of 15th March show a recurring misapprehension voiced in your journal as well as many others. This is the equation of the system in Russia, China, etc. with Socialism—or Communism. (Both Marx and Engels used these words interchangeably and the Russian claim that Socialism is a necessary prior stage to the establishment of Communism is just one clear indication that, whatever the politicians of these countries may claim, their system of 100% State Capitalism has nothing whatever to do with Marxism).

Whilst the leaders of these countries may claim to be Marxists, an examination of the facts proves this to be untrue. Did Hitler's National Socialist Party (a very contradiction in terms) mean that Nazism and Socialism are synonymous? The quotations and twisting of some of Marx's and Engels' writings does not constitute Marxism. The Socialist Party of Great Britain has maintained consistently since 1917 that the Russian Revolution could not (nor was it meant to) establish socialism or Communism. The prerequisites of the establishment of Socialism are an understanding of what Socialism means

and the co-operation of the majority of the people to establish and work for it, and sufficient to satisfy the material needs of all. Neither of these conditions were present in Russia in 1917, nor are they to-day, and the system existing in these countries has nothing whatever to do with Socialism — or Communism — as envisaged by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. Any criticisms of these regimes cannot therefore correctly be called criticisms of their theories.

(Mrs.) E. Goodman

London, 16th April 1963.

Overseas Contacts Secretary.
'The Socialist Standard'

London

(We invite a discussion on this subject in this journal from our readers—Editor)

LANGUAGES IN THE INDIAN CONSTITUTION

The Indian Constitution concerned itself with languages for the very limited purpose of **official use**, and not for general purposes. It is the language which, in his legitimate impatience, Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, described in picturesque and expressive words as the language used by "some wretched clerks in the Government Secretariats". It is not the language used by, say Tagore or Mrs. Sarojini Naidu for its literary excellence. At the same time, the official language should not descend to the level of the fish-market. It should aim at clarity and brevity for which English is best suited. The mother-tongues and the regional languages, which are used by most people most of the time, are best suited for everyday use by the common man and for literary purposes by the savants.

It is noteworthy that the Constitution did not designate any language as "Indian" or "foreign", as National or regional. It did not designate English as "foreign", and Hindi as "Indian", and give it as the reason to replace English by Hindi. The fourteen languages in the Eighth Schedule are not called "regional" languages, perhaps because they included Sanskrit which is not a regional one. The Constitution does not contemplate any single language as the "national" one, which should be used by all Indian nationals as their mother-tongue. If any language can be said to be "national" insofar as it is used in all parts of India, though only for higher education and administration, it is English.

Bangalore.

— P. Kodanda Rao

A NEW ERA

The people are not happy. They are not prepared to wait or be fooled by Emergencies or inevitabilities or the absence of any probable or fitting successor to Sri Nehru and other things like that. The situation is that of a thirsty man wanting water. The people thirst for good government without which they cannot live.

A new era is opening for Indian politics. The head of the Government is no longer a god, but a replaceable representative of the people. The party is not Government, but a tentative trustee of the people, who should function with humility and integrity and for the good of the whole people, and not use the trust for party purposes. These enter into the concept of good government which is what the people thirst for. The lesson of Amroha and Farookhabad is there for men to realize if they wish to learn.

— C. Rajagopalachari

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IN THIS ISSUE

EDITORIAL :

Page

How to Fight the China-Pak Axis 2

War And Philosophy
By M. A. Venkata Rao .. 5

PSP Shakes Off The Shackles
By M. N. Tholal .. 7

Equality
By Realist 9

DELHI LETTER :

"Hush, Hush" All Over 11

Book-Review 12

The Mind of the Nation 13

News And Views 13

HOW TO FIGHT THE CHINA-PAK AXIS

NEWS is again percolating from behind the Chinese Bamboo Curtain in Tibet into the Indian side of the Himalayan region, about the heavy concentration of Chinese troops along the NEFA border in the Easter sector, Barhoti in the middle sector and Ladakh in the Western sector. The distant hustlings of the Chinese military jack-boots and the rumblings of the Chinese guns are being heard on our northern border. The actual gun-running from the Chinese side across India's frontiers is expected to begin in a month or two, when the mountain passes will be cleared of the snows. Some time back it was also reported that this time, the Chinese invasion is likely to break through Burma into Assam and her rich oil-fields.

During the lull that resulted from the unilateral withdrawal of the Chinese troops from NEFA and Ladakh in November last, China has been mounting a well-planned attack against India on the diplomatic front too. She has been wooing Nepal and other Himalayan States. She has almost won over Pakistan to her side in the Sino-Indian conflict by bargaining with the latter territories of Kashmir and Ladakh belonging to India. The result is, Pakistan is now busy black-mailing India and supporting China at all international conferences and meets and by doing so, she has earned unstinted praise and gratitude from the Chinese Premier Chou En-lai who in his turn has now publicly pledged China 'to defend Pakistan throughout the world as Pakistan defended China in SEATO and CENTO.' Thus the China Pakistan Axis has been formed against India and has been set in motion vigorously.

'BAMBOO AND STICK' MENTALITY

It will therefore be worthwhile to consider how our Government is reacting to this rather complicated and uncomfortable situation. Its hard prejudices against Western nations do not yet show any signs of relenting even in the face of a first-class military crisis that confronts the country both in the East and the West. Mr. Nehru has gone on record as having said in a rhetorical flourish at Madras, that he could never think of handing over the defence of India into foreign hands (which, in fact, no opposition party has ever asked for) and that rather than doing so the country would even fight the Chinese enemy with sticks. This is an amazing statement for 'The Leader of the Nation' to make at this critical hour when India's very existence as a free nation is menaced by the Chinese bandits who are almost spoiling for a second fight with India. Mr. Nehru has been always condemning the 'bullock-cart' mentality of the Indian people just to sell to them his patent panacea of the Five-Year-Plans for all their ills. It

would be more in the fitness of things for the common man of India now to chide Mr. Nehru with having exhibited in a non-chalant manner his 'bamboo and stick' mentality in the matter of fighting an unscrupulous but well-equipped foe in this nuclear age.

QUIXOTIC AND PUERILE

To seek military self-sufficiency for India in the near future as Mr. Nehru is doing is simply quixotic and puerile. It must be clearly understood at least by the people if not by Mr. Nehru, that there is absolutely no possibility of India being in a position to defend herself with her own military might, if China should attack India in the next few months as expected. In such an eventuality compulsions of India's defence will surely warrant a massive military aid to India from the Western countries not only in money and arms but also in military personnel. England and France had to do so in the last Great War against Hitlerite Germany in defence of their free way of life. One therefore fails to understand what stands in the way of India entering into a similar military pact with European countries for the purpose of hurling back the Chinese hordes from the Indian soil, except the Socialist or Communist ideological obsessions and aberrations on the part of the Congress leadership. If Non-alignment does not mean, as Dr. Radhakrishnan assured the American people "any kind of equivocation or giving away of the fundamental principles on which democracy is rooted," our Government should lose no time in arriving at such a military alliance with the West for maintaining and preserving India's security and integrity.

FAILURE ON THE DIPLOMATIC FRONT

On the diplomatic front too, India seems to be losing heavily. Of the six countries which sponsored the Colombo Proposals, three have already backed out of them in favour of China. Even out of the remaining three, UAR is reported to have come round to the view that India should open in her own interests, unconditional negotiations with China, lest the Cease-Fire line tacitly accepted by India for the time being, be stabilised as in the case of Kashmir dispute. The masterly inactivity of Mr. Nehru and his Government in the matter of reoccupying the areas vacated by China in NEFA and Ladakh has created an unfortunate impression among the non-aligned powers that India would never be able to defend her frontiers against China and therefore she had better come to terms with the latter on this issue. Probably for the same rea-

sons, America and England too, are dismissing any probability in the near future of an armed conflict between India and China and are reluctant to equip India with all the war weapons mentioned in the 'Shopping List' presented to them by the Indian Government and its representatives sent abroad.

INDIA, AS THE DEFENDER OF DEMOCRATIC FAITH

But notwithstanding India's peace-mongering postures, it is as certain as anything that China's War Communism would not allow her to be quiet for any length of time on the Indian border. 'The Great Leap Forward' which has been such an abysmal failure in China, must be compensated for, by 'The Great Leap Forward' across the Himalayas and towards South-East Asia, if the present regime is to survive and continue to rule the country. So our leaders would do well to ponder over this aspect of Chinese Communism. If they did so, they would at once realise the necessity of replying to the Communist War-Lords of China in the only language they understand. Our leaders would then come to think that the wanton employment of force by China against India should be met by the combined military might of India and that of the Democratic World. The Pakistan-Chinese attempt to isolate India politically in South Asia could be countered by India's forging political ties with Afghanistan on the basis of her fullest support to the Pakhtoonistan movement for self-determination and the unassailable democratic demands of East Pakistanis. India should also turn her attention to the formation of an Asian Democratic Bloc consisting of India, Nepal, Bhutan, Sikkim, Malasia, Formosa and Japan as against the vicious and unholy Pak-China combination. All these energetic steps and moves taken by India would surely convince the Western world and the neutral Afro-Asian nations, of India's determined bid to fight and contain communist China and her allies in South Asia and they will be ever willing to extend all their moral sympathy and military aid to India. Particularly India should not hesitate to recognise the Government of Formosa as a counterblast to the China-Pak flirtations and to take its aid if necessary in training our soldiers in military guerilla warfare.

India is thus by her strategic position in South Asia, inexorably cast for playing the role of the Defender of the Democratic Faith not only within her borders but also all over South Asia. And she will have played the part gloriously and well when she is in a position to confront the Pak-China Totalitarian Axis with the firm and broad-based Free Alliance of Asian nations and if necessary even to smash it.

AFRICA A POLITICAL ENTITY OR A GEOGRAPHICAL EXPRESSION?

Hitherto Africa has been considered to be more a geographical expression than a closely

knit political and cultural entity. Even in respect of race and colour, it could not be called a purely 'black' country since the Mediterranean countries of Egypt, Algeria and the like are inhabited by fair races like the Arabs. Culturally also it is not homogeneous. Nasser of Egypt is more of an Arab and a good Muslim than an African, properly so-called. Ethiopia is culturally distinguishable from the surrounding Arab countries and the tribal kingdoms by its long history traceable to the days of King Solomon. Politically speaking, it is reported that only one among every three countries that had met together at Addis Abba Conference to set up a permanent organisation of African Unity, had a Parliamentary Government, the rest being under dictatorships or the rule of tribal chieftains. The inherent contradictions and conflicts, cultural, political and even racial among these African nations were all but spot-lighted at the conference and tended to point out the difficulties and complications involved in evolving African Unity.

To add to these difficulties the political supremacy of the Whites in South Africa, South Rhodesia and Angola and some other regions the ever-deepening and ever-widening Chinese and Russian influence in Somali Land and such other areas have become great stumbling-blocks in the path of a resurgent and united Africanhood, if there be such a thing in existence at all. It is only anti-White feelings which appear to have brought these African countries together

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and enabled them to present a united front against the stupid policies of apartheid followed by the South African Government, at the U.N. and recently at the International Labour Conference in Geneva.

That the political domination of the Whites in Africa should go, every democrat will agree. But one is not sure that the disappearance of the White rule will alone pave the way for African Unity. At the moment, obviously Africa does not appear to be more than a geographical expression. Moreover, the question is well worth considering whether creating such myths as African, Asian or European Personalities which have no basis in actual facts of life and which are not rooted in democratic traditions, will not directly come into conflict with the U.N. ideal of a World Order under which the frontiers of freedom will be extended to one and all countries, small or great, irrespective of race, colour, caste and creed. It is even feared in responsible democratic quarters that such artificially created jingoistic Personalities might do more harm than good to the cause of world peace and universal brotherhood.

PRO-NEHRUISM OF THE REDS AMPLY REWARDED

Recent release of a large number of Communist Detenues from the prisons, by the Indian Government only confirms the widely-held belief that the democratic professions of the Indian Government are only skin-deep and they are designed only to conceal from the public view, the real aims and intentions of the Government. Mr. Nehru's pro-Communist sympathies are well-known. His writings had already announced them from the house-tops. His doings in the course of his uninterrupted Prime Ministership extending over sixteen years, have only proved them beyond doubt. His latest utterances at Madras and other places only go to show that he is incorrigible in this respect and does not want to learn or unlearn anything from China's betrayal of his Panchashila and Bhai-Bhai-ism.

If, according to Nehru, no Chinese attack is imminent, why on earth is the Government still keeping up the pretence of Emergency in the country? To judge from the release of the Communist leaders, the Government no longer thinks that the activities of the Reds pose any serious threat to India's security and integrity.

The only inference that one can draw from this strange and incongruous behaviour of Nehru's Government is that the Congress is in a terrible fix. The leadership is almost frightened out of its wits at the growing influence of the opposition parties in the country as reflected in the results of the recent by-elections to the Parliament. By their ill-conceived planning, Gold Control Orders and Compulsory Saving Schemes the Congress has forfeited all sympathy and confidence of the democratic forces in the country.

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It is, therefore, driven helplessly to its old discredited policies of fraternising with the Reds.

The Government appears to have now decided to exempt the Reds from all rigours of the Emergency and thus reward them amply for their 'loyalty' to Nehru. But the tragedy is that the rest of the population will, all the same continue to writhe and groan under the crushing and intolerable conditions created by the Emergency.

HOME-THRUSTS AT CONGRESS PROHIBITION POLICIES

Though discredited, Prohibition has become an Article of Faith with some Congress dignitaries. The Central Finance Minister is one of them. He said the other day that he did not feel like believing in the reports prepared on the subject by persons who are not themselves prohibitionists. So a Study Team was set up to probe into the working of Prohibition and to suggest how best it would be implemented with Justice Teckchand as its Chairman. The Study Team is now touring in the Maharashtra State for the present.

But the Finance Minister would be sadly disappointed to learn that among his own Congressmen at Bombay and Poona, many persons have appeared before the Team with their statements and memoranda unequivocally demanding that Prohibition should be scrapped. A B.P.C.C. group from Bombay led by two prominent members of the Congress Executive showed its stark realism by pointing out to the Team that 'the dry policy has been a total failure and has contributed in a very great measure to corruption at all stages of the administrative machinery, affecting further the living standard.' This is indeed a courageous and admirable statement, coming as it does, from the fold of the Faithful. The same thing happened at Poona. The Poona City Congress leaders like Mr. More, M.P. and Mr. Mate, The District Congress President gave evidence before the Study Team in the same strain and delivered the much-needed home-thrusts to the Congress prohibitionist fanatics like Mr. Morarji Desai.

These Congressmen have also made one more point clear. They do not think that any more tightening of the Prohibition Laws and their strict enforcement would mend matters. They appear to prefer Temperance to Prohibition instead.

—D. M. Kulkarni.

FOOD FOR THOUGHT:

'There is no democracy today. The Congress Government have established a reign of terror in the country by promulgating Acts and Ordinances blacker than the Black Acts of the British regime.'

—Jai Prakash Narain
'I am a citizen of the World; I am a citizen of Weimer.'

—Goethe

WAR AND PHILOSOPHY

By M. A. VENKATA RAO

It is the duty of States and all social agencies safeguarding the good life to have at their command, force stronger than that of the evil elements ranged against them. Eternal vigilance with the powder dry and adequate arms and skill and mental alertness are all inescapable duties of the guardians, according to the philosophy of war as taught in the Gita and in Plato's Republic.

Among primitive tribes, war was a total strife that involved every member of the contending groups.

But there were intervening centuries of civilisation when it was largely a matter of royal dynasties and professional armies, mobilising but a fraction of the resources in men and materials of societies. This was the national and imperial stage just passed in Europe and America.

After the world war I, we are once again in the age of total war—at a higher level of organisation, resources, numbers, area and destruction.

War is an activity that draws such large part of man's energy and destiny into its orbit and determines his social future for generations so **decisively** that it is not inappropriate to speak of the philosophy of war. If we can have philosophies of politics, of history, of fine art or beauty, of morals and of reality as such (metaphysics) we can certainly have a philosophy of war with equal justification. For what is required for the philosophical treatment of a subject is that it concern a **large aspect** of human experience and have ramifications that involve his values and destiny.

Jesus Christ preached an ethics the exact opposite of war. He exhorted his disciples and through them—all mankind to turn the other cheek to him who smote one cheek and to give the cloak also to him who took his coat away from him. This is not non-resistance. If strictly followed, it would mean satyagraha of a kind.

That is why many early christians refused to serve in the army and police and as judges and magistrates and incurred the displeasure of the States of which they were citizens.

The Society of Friends (otherwise known as Quakers) have consistently maintained this attitude of non-violence through the centuries as the true teaching of Christ. They have been conscientious objectors to war service and have suffered imprisonment and persecution during wars involving their nations, which they have borne patiently.

But the vast majority of European races rejected this doctrine of non-resistance or abolition of war under all circumstances as a spiritual principle as **counsel of perfection**. They made compromise and arrived at a practical morality that gave due recognition to war-making to repel aggressive enemies.

But during the Middle Ages, alarmed by the Saracen occupation of the Holy Land, Popes and Christian Princes proclaimed a Holy war exhorting all good Christians to engage in a Crusade to recover the Holy Land for Christendom. This marked a change from defensive to aggressive tactics, from defensive to offensive war, to match the Islamic pressure which was inspired by a troublefree faith in holy war for the advancement of the Faith of the Crescent.

Thus Christianity ended in contradictions and later yielded in theory to practical national exigencies and the Church of each nation blessed its own nation when at war and called on the Almighty for Victory.

The philosophy of war should take into consideration material from many fields—history, politics, ethics, sociology and psychology. Even the earliest speculators like Heraclitus have observed the pervasive feature of conflict in nature as a whole as well as in human life.

Nature seems to be a dynamic equilibrium of opposing forces—heat and cold, positive and negative electricity, to use modern terms.

The Sankhya philosophy in India which goes back to the dim dawn of civilisation thinks of a homogeneous state of equilibrium of **gunas** which is upset by a **shock** coming from somewhere. This shock starts on initial movement and splits the homogeneity of nature into the threefold **sattya**, **rajas** and **tamas** ingredients which split again into more complicated pattern resulting in the physical and chemical objects we know today. Later living beings emerge.

But the initial shock might have caused a single upset-like the ruins caused by the shock of an earthquake. But why should the movement **continue** and in such order and in such an **upward direction**, creating or allowing life and species and mind and reason to emerge?

What is the reason and justification for this **Nisus**? Or upward, constant push or attraction or both? The conflict of opposites is an idea that is powerless to explain this upward emergence of superior orders of being.

How can Mind emerge out of mindless chaos and Peace out of war, if war is the essence and nature of things?

Turning to human nature, we have the verdict of psychology that man is endowed with instincts like pugnacity and self-assertion. They lead to fighting if the desires of the person are

thwarted. Man has desires and if his desires come into clash with the desires of other men, and if neither yields, conflict must take place. The stronger will drive the weaker to the wall and take the prize. The law of the ocean fish (**matsya nyaya**) that the bigger fish will swallow the smaller, holds true of man as well.

The conflict between Pakistan and India arises because Pakistan wants a large part of India's territory, if not the whole of it! A Muslim writer who wrote a book on the eve of Independence in 1946 from which Dr. Rajendra Prasad quotes in his learned book **India Divided** (1946) writes: "There is not a square inch of soil in the whole of India from Kashmir to the Cape on which our ancestors had not shed their precious blood for the conquest of India. Therefore by right of that blood, we, their descendants, claim the whole of India as our rightful heritage!" and no doubt the writer intends his co-religionists to back that claim by **fighting** relentlessly against Hindustan.

This is the cause of war in a nutshell. Those who ignore this radical root in **Pakistani ambition** for the whole of India—not a mere idle wish but a determination to win, (through fighting and diplomacy and all the usual means known to history) and mouth pious platitudes that we are **friends** of Pakistan are deceiving themselves and deceiving Indians generally. It is always better to face Facts honestly and squarely.

The Pakistanis have a philosophy of War—Holy War against India. They exhort their people to **hate** India. Their first Prime Minister called the people of India every year publicly on the occasion of Id festival **Dushman** (The Enemy) from the Lahore Mosque.

Pakistanis are taught the theocratic doctrine that they will go to heaven if they **kill kafirs**, even by **assassination**!

They make no bones about hatred, about its being harmful to hate. Indian leaders like Nehru teach on the contrary that Indians should **not** hate the enemy—the Chinese People, but only their Aggression against us! It is like Gandhi teaching us **not** to hate the British but only his rule over us.

Indian thinkers—and even politicians, refer to the Bhagavadgita and point to the teaching of Lord Krishna to this effect. Though Krishna persuaded Arjuna to fight his cousins in the war, he taught him to fight like a **yogi**—dispassionately, disinterestedly, with no love for any creature, no **hatred** against anyone, no **interest** in success, equal in success and failure etc. etc.

This is India's philosophy of war. It says that there arise occasions in the history of society when **fighting becomes unavoidable**.

For however good and patient we may be, however non-provocative we might be, (little India **vis-a-vis** Pakistan) there will always be certain persons with an evil disposition. They will misuse our unpreparedness for aggression against

us. They will take unfair advantage of our openness and friendliness. They will take advantage of every good we give them and far from being grateful, they will plan to extract some more!

As the British went on increasing the jobs open to Indians, we developed the taste not for more jobs but for the sovereignty wherewith we might give jobs to ourselves!

So the Chinese and the Pakistanese wish to extract more from pliant India through intimidation—and actual fighting—knowing that we are unprepared!

There is an infinite element in man—which makes him **insatiable** with any acquisitions short of totality. It is **only force greater than they can withstand** that deters them from seeking to gain such unfair benefit at the expense of the weaker!

We should remember this when suggestions are made to us to surrender more parts to Pakistan to appease the Pakistanis. If the British and the Americans **can guarantee** in open treaty that the Pakistanis will drop their secret treaty with China to the detriment of India (to stab India in the back when China attacks and to grab territory—e.g. Kashmir Valley and Assam), India can agree to surrender a part of Kashmir—even the Valley, if the people wish to go to Pakistan.

As Mr. Gorwala has been suggesting, we might then agree to a plebiscite observed by (not managed by) international observers from neutral nations (Switzerland, Sweden, Ireland, Mexico—not England, not the U.S.A. which are interested Powers nor any of the communist States).

For we cannot consent to transfer nationals like cattle to hostile nations without their consent.

Also, the plebiscite should be held in the areas occupied illegally by Pakistan as well! Ladakh and Jammu should be exempt or if their population should be subjected to the ordeal for form's sake, their votes should be counted for separate regions—for Jammu and for Ladakh.

That is, Jammu and Ladakh should not be liable to be transferred to Pakistan by reason of an overall majority in the whole of Kashmir, Jammu and Ladakh as a single voting area, ignoring majorities voting against such merger in Pakistan in Jammu and Ladakh.

There is no justification for the philosophy of total pacifism based on the **maya** doctrine which bamboozles some thinkers. Some traditional thinkers have a Ramayana **anthatartha** or inner interpretation for Rama's epic according to which the fighting is eviscerated of its materialistic and human plane. It is made to stand for the inner fight of man's spirit against his inner vices—greed, egoism, anger etc.

Such an interpretation is also given for the Bhagavadgita in terms of maya and inner struggle for virtue against vice and moral weakness.

(Continued on Page 8)

PSP SHAKES OFF THE SHACKLES

By M. N. THOLAL

THE Bhopal Conference of the Praja Socialist Party has retrieved some of its lost prestige by electing Mr. S. M. Joshi to the Chairmanship in place of Mr. Asoka Mehta who, being a friend of Mr. Nehru, had little heart in his job as a leader of the Opposition. In Mr. S. M. Joshi, the Party appears to have found a man of common sense, so lacking in most of our leaders. This might facilitate the forging of unity between the two Socialist parties.

The sixth National Conference of the Praja Socialist Party at Bhopal has done something to retrieve some of its lost prestige during the chairmanship of Mr. Asoka Mehta which continued mysteriously for four years. No wonder he had to confess "real sorrow" that for more than a year he had not been able to function in the Party in any meaningful sense of the term. The true reason would appear to be in a friend of Mr. Nehru finding himself a leader of the Opposition and thus having little heart in his job. He summed up the position well when he said that the armed hostility of China and the antipathy of Pakistan towards India, coupled with the reluctance of the great powers to get adequately interested in the basic dispute, had created a different situation for India. But he showed his dual mentality again when he said it was tragic that neither the Government nor most of the Opposition parties had cared to understand the full import of the Chinese challenge. Surely, as an Opposition leader, it is also his main business to fix the responsibility for the difficult situation in which the country finds itself today. His failure to do so can only be due to his affection for his old colleague, which in fact disqualifies him for the role he has been playing for the last four years. Is it possible to understand the full import of the Chinese challenge without understanding what it was that made it possible?

This is no time for philosophizing and it is as well that Mr. Mehta has given place to a leader who seems better suited to the task of leading the Party. How wide the differences between him and the rank and file of the Party have been, were emphasised by Mr. Mehta himself when, talking to newsmen at Bhopal, he expressed his complete disagreement with the operative part of all the four resolutions adopted by the sixth annual conference of the Praja Socialist Party. But it is to his credit that he realises the folly of creating confusion among party workers and the people by airing his views. Our leaders do not know when to retire and hold on to their leadership until they find it impossible to do so. Mr. Mehta would have done a greater service to his party if he had chosen to retire from the chairmanship of his party at least two years ago, for, on his own confession, he had been finding himself a misfit. It is amazing how personal considerations interfere in this country with public service according

to one's convictions. This has been the bane of Indian politics for decades, and may indeed be said to have been the cause of the division of the country. Yet we are none the wiser for it. Why should we hesitate to give expression to our differences with personal friends when patriotism demands it? If we do, it can only be because we do not place patriotism first.

The new chairman of the Party, Mr. S. M. Joshi, said at Bhopal that the reverses suffered by India during the Chinese aggression had proved that the Congress Government was not competent to run the country. He might have more truly blamed the situation, internal as well as international, created by the Congress Government, resulting in those reverses, for which the Congress Government alone can be held responsible. It has been a failure all along the Congress Government's basic policies, which have hardly come in for criticism except at the hands of that far-seeing statesman in the South, C. Rajagopalachariar. And yet we hardly find any appreciation, in any party except the Swatantra, of the honesty and the frankness of the analysis of the situation by that statesman. Indeed, one finds more zeal in the shouting of the slogan against the English language — "Angrezi hatao" — as if it was the English language that was responsible for the Chinese aggression and the country's present isolation.

Not until patriots in this country decide to wage a relentless war against careerism in all its shapes and forms will it be possible for India to have a government which looks after the security and welfare of the people. Slogans such as the one quoted above are slogans of careerists, who want to dupe the people into shouting their "jai". Our patriotism, since the beginning of the Gandhian era, has been reduced to the fine art of fishing in troubled waters for personal glory, when what has been needed is courage to blurt out the truth even at the cost of losing following in the country. For example, unity between the Jana Sangh and the Socialists is not enough for some. Why should not the Jana Sangh unite with the Communists also? And why not with the Chinese Communists too? Referring to internal squabbles in the Party, Dr. P. C. Ghose said at the annual conference that he sometimes thought he was in a mad house and totally unfit to be its member. That is what the present writer often feels after reading his

morning paper — that he is in a mad house and totally unfit to be an Indian.

THE NEW LEADER

It is to be hoped that the exit of Mr. Mehta will provide fresh avenues for forging unity between the two Socialist parties on the basis of promotion of Socialism in the country. In Mr. S. M. Joshi the Party appears to have found a man of commonsense, so conspicuously lacking in most of our leaders. He said the Praja Socialist Party had been hitherto following a policy of responsive co-operation with the Government and that policy had failed because of the intransigence and selfishness of the ruling party. It is of course no part of his job to condemn his predecessors. But why should the PSP have been following a policy of responsive co-operation vis-a-vis a Government which has a thumping majority in Parliament and State legislatures, and why should it have in the circumstances expected any response from the Congress Party? It is to be hoped that the PSP has at last learnt the elementary political lesson — that there is no generosity in politics, not even for the sake of the good of the country, at least in those lands where public opinion is not ever ready to create a furore at the least indication of sacrifice of the national interest for personal gain.

There is much with which a patriot can agree in the statements of Mr. Joshi at a news conference in Bombay on June 13. The new line of his party, he said, was to bring sufficient popular pressure on the Government to change its policies, by creating public opinion for a better climate and a mighty defence effort. His diagnosis of the present situation is unassailable. Today the mood of the people, as he said, has completely changed. The workers who had come forward voluntarily to contribute their mite to the defence effort were unfortunately no longer eager to do the same, and the trading community that had refrained from indulging in hoarding and black-marketing had now slid back, while the Government were misusing the emergency powers for partisan ends. Above all that, as he added, while giving sermons of austerity to the people, the Government was indulging in extravagance and waste in its administration and corruption was rampant.

In a written statement he summed up his charge against the Government with the observation that the unprecedented upsurge of people's enthusiasm manifested after the Chinese aggression had been allowed to be dissipated by the Government by their indecision, lack of determination and dedication to accept the challenge of Communist China, and the surging popular passions and emotions were allowed to ebb out giving place to despondency and frustration. Indeed, what are the people to think when they see the amounts of the electricity bills of

our austere ministers, or hear that the Prime Minister's own daughter has been saying at public meetings that it matters little whether Indian territory near the Himalayas remains with India or with China, as it is uninhabited? That is what Mr. H. V. Kamath said at Bhopal while demanding the resignation of Mrs. Indira Gandhi from the chairmanship of the Central Citizens Defence Council. Has she not heard of the Indian Parliament's sacred resolve to throw out the Chinese, sponsored by her own father? Indeed, after reading utterances like these, one is reminded of the Persian proverb: **Choon kufr az Kaaba barkhezad kuja manad Musalmami?** (When disbelief raises its head from the holy Kaaba itself, where will Islam be?) From all that I know — and I know a great deal about the Nehru family — I can say that the daughter is used to paraphrasing her father's opinions. The man in the street, in any case, is apt to conclude that the daughter is voicing her father's opinions — with impunity — and the Prime Minister will do well to remind her of her responsibilities as his daughter. There can, however, be no denying that she has forfeited her right to be chairman of any defence council, to say nothing of the Central Citizens Defence Council. Her only qualification for the job was that she was the Prime Minister's daughter. (What greater qualification can there be for any job in India?) She should in any case not spoil her chances of succeeding her father, for which purpose she has been groomed over so many years.

(Continued from Page 6)

These may have some value but to regard them as the sole meaning and justification of the epic is to dilute their vigour and deprive them of their inspiring application to social life and its grim struggles.

The Gita itself has a more realistic estimate of the human situation when side by side with its exposition of the presence of the immanent God in all beings, it also draws attention to the **asuri sampath** or evil inheritance influencing some characters. Such wicked people are immune to good influences, are not grateful to any amount of generosity done to them. They want to scale the heavens and use the whole world and its resources as their means of power and pomp. They are deaf to reasonable appeal. They can only be checked by force greater than theirs.

This is the necessity of war in human affairs.

It is the duty of States and all social agencies safeguarding the good life to have at their command **force stronger** than that of the evil elements ranged against them. Preparedness and eternal vigilance with the powder **dry** and adequate arms and skill and mental alertness are all inescapable duties of the guardians, according to the philosophy of war (as taught in the Gita and in Plato's Republic).

BY REALIST

THE "FALL OUT" from a nuclear explosion is more widespread, more lasting and may be more dangerous than the explosion itself. The radio-active dust of the French Revolution, as seems to have been seen by Edmund Burke almost alone amongst his thoughtful contemporaries, was the idea of equality. This has been floating around the world for a century and a half but it has only been precipitated in its full force in the first half of this century. It was postponed by the Napoleonic dictatorship and the Industrial Revolution until it was revived with terrible results by the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917.

On the face of it the idea of equality amongst men is benign and simple. Unfortunately it is constantly misinterpreted even by people of high intelligence and experience. The whole matter was summed up 23 centuries ago by Aristotle:—

"for if the persons are not equal they must not have equal shares; in fact this is the very source of all the quarrelling and wrangling in the world, either they who are equal have and get awarded to them things not equal or being not equal those things which are equal."

Justice has been well defined as "the absence of arbitrary inequality", but, as Aristotle indicates, it also implies the absence of arbitrary equality.

If an intellectual misunderstanding of the simple doctrine were all, comparatively small harm might have been done. Unfortunately the idea of equality is one which appeals to most men, at least in the sense that they wish to be equal to their superiors, but have no corresponding desire to be equal with those who are their inferiors. And the more ignorant, selfish and oppressed men are, the stronger is the appeal. It is the basis not merely of a desire for a more even distribution of economic goods but perhaps even worse, of an inferiority complex. This psychological disease not only affects individuals but organisations such as Trade Unions and Nations. It would be an interesting study to see how far the wars of this century, both great and small, have resulted from it.

Argument seems hopeless against emotion. As the Persian said before the battle Plataea:—
"No human affliction is worse than this; to know, and to be helpless"

All the same it is almost the only weapon which is left to combat or mitigate the disasters which have fallen and are falling so rapidly on almost all the nations of the world.

It happened through a series of racial, geographical and historical accidents that these islands became in effect the masters of a large

part of the uncivilised world in the 19th century. The incalculable benefits this brought to its peoples seem seldom to be appreciated. It so happened also that we had been welded into a coherent whole by 1,000 years of struggling history and the idea of nationhood and democracy had received amongst us its most enduring and strongest expression. Such an idea was wholly foreign to the greater part of Asia and Africa. But amongst the rapids which swirl beneath the catastrophic falls of the Russian Revolution and two great wars, the idea of nationality, which curiously enough was condemned by the Left Wing parties at home, was supported by them amongst the ignorant and warring tribes of these two continents. "We have and desire self-government. Therefore all other races, being equal, should have it too". This idea is a godsend to the murderous adventurers who, playing and preying on the feelings of the oppressed masses, have established themselves as independent patriots with the spreading of murder, corruption, fraud and tyranny.

The truth is that men even of the same race and particularly men of different races, are unequal by reason of their history, their education and, most important, of their genetic qualities. They are of course equal in the sense that their character, their feelings, their pains and pleasures cannot be arbitrarily distinguished or disregarded, but in other respects their inequality is profound.

For consider equality at home. This is not unnaturally associated with democracy and universal suffrage. We can give, and have given, equal voting rights to the halfwit, the criminal and the greatest men amongst us, but we cannot give them true equality. Inequality is ineluctable. We can deny it, shut our eyes to it, degrade and even execute superior men, but we cannot abolish it. "**E pur si muove**".

It might be thought that the great danger of attempted equality would be the reduction of all men to the same level. This would be a desperate disaster, for a battalion can only march at the pace of its slowest soldier. But it may be doubted whether it can happen. Certainly it cannot endure. The result of an attempt at equality of this kind has been throughout history and is today tyranny and a slave state. Are we sure, even in this country, that we are safe from that?

The effects of equalitarianism at home, though they have not resulted in a dictatorship are already becoming serious. Many people think that the real prosperity of the manual workers of this nation, considerable, though not so great as inflation makes it appear, is the result of pressure on their behalf by Trade Unions. Whether this is true to any extent is, to say the

least, doubtful. What is certain is that the enormous increase in productivity rests mainly on the exercise of the brains, character and organising power of superior men and the adaptation by industry, particularly large scale industry, of scientific discoveries and inventions. Was it not Foch who said—"It was not the Carthaginian Army that crossed the Alps, it was Hannibal"? It is now becoming obvious that we are short of people of the necessary intellectual and moral powers even to maintain, still less to improve, the nation's economic standards. This is largely due to equalitarian doctrines, which result in the less useful members of society receiving greater honour and being paid more than is proper relatively to the more useful brain workers. It is now a commonplace that neither young men, nor their parents, are prepared in large enough numbers to make the sacrifices necessary for a prolonged training, since they can so easily earn comparatively large sums with a very low degree of training, and even though they may ultimately attain higher economic levels than their fellows, the difference in remuneration, taxation bearing into account, is not sufficient to induce them to bear the sacrifices required.

Man is not only a sentient being. He is a machine. If good machinery is neglected or destroyed his comfort and even his existence will be destroyed.

There is one other matter which should be touched on here. In order to escape the manifest falsity of purely equalitarian doctrines many people substitute equality of opportunity as an aim for absolute equality. Few people, however, seem to examine its true implications. In the first place it is completely and absolutely different from the idea of equality since, as is obvious in any athletic meeting, or in any phase of life, men are not equal, and if they are given equal opportunity, the rewards will be unequal; only one man can win a race; he will get a prize which none of the others shares. One must consider when equality of opportunity is to start; to maintain the athletic metaphor, ought the whole of the competitors to be stopped in the middle of a race and to be started again afresh on equal terms? Is equality of opportunity to start at birth? If so, does this mean that parents who have shown exceptional qualities of skill, thrift and care for their children, are to obtain no advantage over those who are responsible for nothing but irresponsible reproduction? Again, are children to be taken from their parents' care immediately they are born? If not, it is obvious that those children whose parents are of a higher order than others will be bound to give their children great advantages in early infancy. Are all children to be given equality of opportunity when, say, they attain school age? If so, that again means depriving parents of the incentive to work and save for their children, which is one of the greatest things economically and morally in the life of any State and in particular of a modern State. The same arguments apply to an

attempt to give equality of opportunity after education is over. In short, are parents who have saved and worked and are therefore likely to be of superior stock not to be able to help their children to attain higher opportunities of service and reward than those who have not? Are the "good for nothings" for ever to be paid for by the "good for smethings" as Herbert Spenser foretold? Is not the truth that equality of opportunity is a chimaera? Of course there should not be gross and arbitrary inequality of opportunity but can anything more be truly said than this?

To sum up a subject which could be expanded to a great length, the whole idea of equality in sense of absolute equality is ridiculous. If we write "John Smith=Jack Jones" that means nothing except that John Smith and Jack Jones are different names for the same person. If we say that John Smith and Jack Jones should have equal opportunities then, as has been said, practically insoluble difficulties arise.

To recapitulate, the terrible danger of equalitarian ideas is not merely that they are seldom accurately apprehended but they appeal to so much that is lowest in human nature, and, paradoxical as it appears, they result in depriving human beings of an otherwise attainable measure of the equality which they most need, the power to develop their own qualities and nature.

—Freedom First, London.

REASON FOR KHRUSHCHEV'S RETREAT

How is one to explain the retreat of the present Communist leaders under Khrushchev from the positions of Leninism in international policy? Why does Khrushchev so insistently preach a policy of peaceful coexistence between countries of the socialist camp and states of the capitalist world, even going so far as to give spurious interpretations of Lenin's views on the subject? The reasons for this change in tactics are to be found in the advances of military technology. Even if the Soviet Union were victorious in an atomic war against the capitalist camp, the catastrophic consequences of such a war would leave the Communist leaders with no hope of creating Communism on the ruins of civilization. The new Party Programme states that "support for peaceful coexistence is also in the interests of the bourgeoisie, who realize that thermonuclear war would not spare even the ruling classes of capitalist society." The authors of the programme do not mention that the new ruling class of the Soviet camp would likewise not remain invulnerable in the event of atomic war, but it is this that has prompted the Soviet leaders to carry out a revision of Lenin's theories on war. The *rapprochement* between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, whose government long since abandoned Lenin's belief in the inevitability of a new world war, is in line with this policy. Only the Communist parties of mighty China and diminutive Albania remain true to the letter of Lenin's theory of the inevitability of war between the countries of socialism and the capitalist states.

—P. Fedenka (Bulletin, Institute for The Study of U.S.S.R.)

"Hush, Hush" All Over

(From Our Correspondent)

Prime Minister Nehru told his Press Conference on June 15 here that he did not propose to make public the report of Mr. S. K. Das, the Supreme Court Judge who went into the allegations against Mr. K. D. Malaviya. This, he said, was in deference to the wishes of Mr. Das. As if to clinch the issue, he added that Mr. Das had made it a condition that his report would not be laid on the table of Parliament. That being so, the matter of the publication of the report can be said to end there. But surely Mr. Nehru should not have accepted that condition. Whether a particular document is to be placed on the table of Parliament is for the Prime Minister and the Speaker to decide, and not those who are authors of that document at the instance of the Prime Minister. In this case the Prime Minister decided that the document will not be placed on the table of Parliament even before he had read it. Can it be that the Prime Minister agreed to the condition on which Mr. Das agreed to undertake the inquiry because he (Mr. Nehru) suspected that the report would be very damaging to the Congress Minister concerned, the Congress Government and the Congress Party? Some proof of its damaging character appears implicit in Mr. Nehru's statement that Mr. Malaviya sent his resignation before the report was received by Mr. Nehru. Apparently Mr. Malaviya was sure of the nature of the report, and he could only have been sure of it because of his failure to answer Mr. Das's questions even to his own satisfaction.

According to Mr. Nehru, Mr. Das made it a condition that his report would not be laid on the table of Parliament. That does not mean that he made it a condition that his report would not be shown even to leaders of the Opposition. But that is what Mr. Nehru implied when (replying to a correspondent who cited the British precedent of showing reports of inquiries to the Leader of the Opposition) he said, "I have told you this was the condition Mr. Das laid down before he undertook this inquiry." Is showing the report to leaders of the Opposition tantamount to making it public? Surely, there is a good deal of difference between the two, and Mr. Nehru is aware of it. In this respect at least Mr. Nehru is acting in deference to his own wishes rather than those of Mr. Das, and his own wishes in the matter are much more undemocratic and much more comprehensive than those of Mr. Das.

That Mr. Nehru himself appears to be averse to the publication of such reports is evident from his answer to the question regarding the publication of the report of the inquiry into the NEFA reverses suffered by the Indian

Army. Asked if the report, which Mr. Nehru said was being considered by the Defence Ministry, would be published, he told, the Press Conference, "I should imagine not." This hush-hush policy in regard to almost everything can hardly be said to be in consonance with the best traditions of democracy. What is His Majesty the Voter to base his opinions on, if the facts regarding Congress Ministers, their acts and their policies, are thus to be withheld from the public gaze?

INDIA AND PAKISTAN

Mr. Nehru made it clear at the Press Conference that any mediation between India and Kashmir must be in regard to all issues between the two countries and not only Kashmir. Not only that, surely. For, it is being increasingly felt here that if Pakistan insists on ascertaining the wishes of the people of Kashmir and on those wishes being respected, it should have no objection to a similar procedure being applicable to what has come to be called Pakh-toonistan. How can Pakistan insist on India following a procedure which she is unwilling to adopt in Pakistan itself? On the argument of identity of religion Pakistan can claim the whole Islamic world. Nor is the religious identity so convincing as the Muslim ministers of Pakistan would like to be taken for granted by the outside world. If the outrageous atrocities against the Ahmedias in the middle of the last decade, and the recent Shia-Sunni riots are any indication—they cannot be ignored by any student of politics or history—there would appear to be a very just case for the establishment of a Shiastan and an Ahmediastan in Pakistan. Let the Pakistani Government and leaders take their own argument to its logical conclusion in their own territory before seeking to apply it in neighbouring countries over whom they have no control. There is heally no sense in a state claiming its foundation in Islam, for there are varieties of Islam and each variety can claim separate existence on the basis of its particular faith.

The trouble with Pakistan is that, founded on the hatred of the Hindu Kafir, its politicians seek to thrive on that hatred — when the Kafir is not incidentally a Muslim Kafir, an Ahmedia or a Shia, as sometimes happens. The present military dictatorship was the result of the movement against the Ahmedias, which resulted in their being looted and murdered on a large scale and bade fair to put the leaders of the movement in power in Pakistan. The leaders of the movement asked in effect — and the question was a very valid one: "How can Pakis-

tan be "pak" (holy) so long as it contains such things as the Government's policy and not Mr. Malaviya's, but he cannot say that it would continue despite his exit from the Government is rather presumptuous. Mr. Malaviya added, "My resignation from the Government may be for good, bad or indifferent reasons, but in a transitional frame of democracy these things have to happen." What things? The things which made him leave the Cabinet in ignominy? He proceeded to "assure the Soviet Union that India's oil policy will continue to stay and any one who would like to deflect this policy will have to burn his finger." Well, he has burnt his, in any case, and it would have been more profitable for his colleagues if he had given them some advice on how to avoid doing so. Also, the public would have appreciated a challenge from him to the powers-that-be to publish the report of Mr. S. K. Das. We would then have what kind of a man he is. Is it fair that there should be one code of conduct for an industrialist and another for a patriot pledged to the service of the country — a much lower one?

Mr. Nehru rightly said at the Conference: "The most unfortunate thing is that Pakistan has based itself on hatred of India." It has to be conceded in fairness to Pakistan, however, that it has to base itself on hatred of India. Otherwise it just goes phut, like a balloon. It cannot concede their due numerical superiority in Parliament to East Pakistanis, for fear of domination by an apparently lower order of Muslims. It therefore stands for domination by a minority, which becomes quite clear and distinct when Pakhtoons are denied their due voice in government. There are not only several varieties of Islam in Pakistan. There are also several grades of citizenship. The East Pakistani has always been a second class citizen, denied equality with the West Pakistani, just as the Ahmedias, and now the Shias, have to regard themselves as citizens on sufferance.

In effect the majority in Pakistan demands extermination of minorities. The question really posed by the Disturbances Inquiry Report was: "Should such people be entrusted with the government of their own country?" The answer is obviously in the negative. And should a government of such people be given extra territories to rule over? The answer again is obviously "NO". But the fact remains: the extermination of Kafirs (i.e., minorities) has got to be the first article of the faith of Pakistan, if it is to be really and truly Pakistan. If it wants to be Kafirstan like India, as its rulers apparently want it to be in desiring that the Faithful should remain at peace with Kafirs, that is another matter, but no one who wants to be at the helm in Pakistan dare say so publicly. Only Mirza, the predecessor of President Ayub, had the courage to ask: "Has there ever been any state in the world which was truly Islamic?" Nevertheless, how can the Faithful, if they are full of the true faith, as they should be, tolerate faithlessness and the unfaithful?

MALAVIYA'S LATEST

There is nothing improper in Mr. K. D. Malaviya defending his oil policy, which, as the Prime Minister pointed out at his Press Confer-

THE INDIAN LIBERTARIAN

Book Review

PATHS IN UTOPIA by Martin Buber, Beacon Press, Boston, paperback, \$1.50. Reviewed by Wendal Bull.

This book should be in School of Living Library and on the reading tables of all earnest social idealists and community builders. One of the ablest minds of our time herein traces the historical development of non-Marxian socialism. "Utopians," it should be understood, is the label used by Marxists to damn all non-Marxian social reformers. In the shadow of the tragic results flowing from Marxian-Leninist dogma, the author re-appraises the work and thought of some leaders in the Co-operative and Libertarian schools. These men never forgot the priority of the "social principle"—the spirit of living community among voluntary co-operators—as distinct from, and superior to, the "political principle" of expediency via coercion which the Marxians embrace.

Beginning with the three men of whom Marx's collaborator, Engels, spoke as "the founders of socialism"—Saint-Simon, Fourier, and Robert Owen—Buber examines and compares their thoughts; touches upon the work of such men as King, Thompson, Buchez, Blanc, Lassalle and others; and then devotes a chapter each to Proudhon, Kropotkin and Landauer, the most influential European libertarians. Marx and Lenin are also given a chapter each in order to establish with ample references and quotations the central and conclusive shortcomings in their doctrine, and in their "sort of mentality."

Marxian socialism (i.e., political, or compulsory, socialism) has not moved toward "the withering away of the state" which Marx pre-

dicted, but has revealed itself, Buber says, "as a mass of socialistic expostulations, (and) no Socialist form at all." This is because the Marxists had no understanding of the need for voluntary co-operation in the re-structuring of social-economic customs by the people themselves. Without decentralized responsibility and autonomous re-structuring, arising "spontaneously, from below upwards"—which the "utopian" socialists did visualize—socialism becomes merely another repressive state, with political but not humanitarian vitality.

Some readers will be dismayed to find Buber warning against world political government as "a danger greater than all previous ones: the danger of a gigantic centralization of power.... devouring all free community." Others will be disappointed to find the following criticism of the Co-operative Movement: the theory that co-operative economic organization could lift the capitalist world off its hinges, as Tonnies phrased it, "can never become a reality," Buber says, "so long as the life-forms of capitalism permeate co-operative activity." The present reviewer is reluctant to note that "the life-forms of capitalism" are not specified at any point in this book. The author fails even to suggest what these "life-forms" are; and it is doubtful whether he would concede that our conceptions and institutions of property, of exchange, of money and credit, and of land tenure need to be displaced at the grass roots by new conceptions and institutions in embryo (new life-forms of economic intercourse) before a truly co-operative spirit can begin to penetrate and to transform our sadly misguided civilization.

Written with that authenticity which negates all authoritarianism, here are the mature fruits of a broad and penetrating scholarship formulated with a rare wisdom and masterful powers of expression. A book for thinkers, not for slogan-mongers.

—'Way Out', School of Living,
Ohio.

The Mind of the Nation

PRESIDENT COMING INTO HIS OWN

The New York Times has not only praised our President as a renowned philosopher, educator and diplomat, but has interpreted him as one, who in recent months, is emerging as a key personality on the Indian political scene. His American tour has been a success for many reasons, first, that being natural, he has reflected a basic America tendency. Though he has indulged in a few platitudes, he has not shown the arrogance to which not only Menon but even Nehru thought Indians had a right from leadership of undeveloped countries. Secondly, he has, with no little courage, placed his own interpretation on our foreign policy, assuming thereby his constitutional headship of the country. In respect of non-alignment, he explained that "India is aligned to democracy, freedom and peaceful solution of all outstanding disputes." By

re-casting alignment with democracies, he confuted Nehru's equivocation of its being equally related to communism. The reference to freedom is in the ostensible context of its absence in communist countries. The peaceful solution of disputes can indicate a reference to our dispute with China to the Hague Court or U.N. Thirdly, he appears to have been more persuasive about our need for aid, without displaying any shopping list as T.T.K. did.

—Insight

News & Views

U. S. STAND 'FLEXIBLE' ON BOKARO AID WASHINGTON

Mr. Dean Rusk said the U.S. favoured the development of private enterprise abroad, but it did not want to be inflexible.

The U.S. Secretary of State made the comment at a congressional hearing marked by objections voiced by a Senator against a possible decision to help India to construct Bokaro steel mill.

Senator Frank Lausche (Democrat, Ohio), called on Mr. Rusk to state that the Government accepted the recommendation of the Clay Committee that the U.S. should not aid Government-operated projects which compete with private enterprise abroad.

Mr. Rusk testifying on the Foreign Aid Bill before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, said: "In general, we would like to see development with the participation of private enterprise, but we do not believe we should apply this (principle) in the most rigorous way regardless of other circumstances."

Mr. Rusk told the Committee that India faced a severe shortage in steel production. He said that private trade and industry circles in India had not objected to Government sponsoring of the mill.

"India is going to need steel," he added. "The question is whether private capital can be mobilised for this effort. This steel mill will almost certainly have to go into the public sector."

Senator Lausche said the U.S. was "following the wrong track" when it spent money to encourage private enterprise in its own country "and at the same time gave money to establish Socialist Governments throughout the world which are the antithesis of the democratic republic in which we live."

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CHINESE PROBE DEFENCE OF NEPAL, BHUTAN AND SIKKIM

Gangtok: According to reliable Tibetan sources Chinese military scouts have recently been probing areas all along the borders of Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan, assessing the defence potentialities of these Himalayan kingdoms and trying to locate weak spots for future offensives with an eye to outflanking movements.

Chinese scouts are being assisted by Tibetan youth leaders — the Chinese call them "thought leaders" — who have arrived in Tibet recently after completing training at the Peking Institute for Minority Nationalities.

This new technique of deploying "thought leaders" to create unrest by subverting and paralysing the administra-

live machinery must be studied and countered in time, because these infiltrators will surely play a major role in any future clash between India and China.

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E. PAKISTAN WILL FIGHT FOR RIGHTS

RAWALPINDI

President Ayub Khan was warned that East Pakistan would carry on its fight for "liberation" till political, economic and human rights were restored.

Mr. Ramizuddin Ahmed, an East Pakistan member of the National Assembly, gave this warning in the most scathing attack yet heard in the National Assembly on President Ayub and his martial law regime.

Mr. Ahmed said that the people of the Eastern wing honestly believed that they had lost all their rights under martial law.

He said they felt they had been reduced to "slavery" under the President and the bureaucracy.

Dr. Ahmed, speaking during the general discussion on the Budget, said that the bureaucracy was dominated by West Pakistanis and had consistently sabotaged development of East Pakistan.

Mr. Ahmed charged persons who fought for the restoration of these rights had been prosecuted.

The Deputy Speaker, Mr. Mohammed Afzal Cheem, reminded him of the constitutional immunity from criticism that the President enjoyed.

He said that Pakistan was too deeply indebted to America to think of war with India. In a war with India, he said, the Rs. ten-crore increase in defence expenditure was not going to help Pakistan defend itself.

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SERAJUDDIN'S MISSING RS. 5 LAKHS

BHOPAL: The new PSP Chairman, Shri S. M. Joshi, said he had learnt from trust-worthy sources that the firm of Serajuddin had given Rs. 17 lakhs to Congressmen in Orissa during the midterm elections.

Only Rs. 12 lakhs out of the sum had been shown in the Congress organisation accounts. Nobody knew what happened to the rest of the money.

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JAYA PRAKASH TO ENTER POLITICS AGAIN?

LUCKNOW: Some top opposition leaders are trying to persuade Mr. Jayprakash Narain, the Sarvodaya leader, to enter active politics again.

They feel Mr. Narain could rally all democratic non-Congress forces round him and give a serious challenge to Congress in the next General Election.

Acharya Kripalani will soon meet Mr. Narain to discuss the present political situation in the country and to plead with him to enter the political arena once again.

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Opposition leaders, including, Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, are anxious to get him back in politics. A few of them have already sounded him on this score.

Dr. Lohia may also meet him soon in this connection.

A prominent Praja Socialist leader told me that the entry of Mr. Narain into politics would create problems for the ruling party. He hoped Mr. Narain would accede to the request.

* * * * *

GOD SAVE US FROM THIS SOCIALISM

Speaking at a Bombay meeting recently, Kakasaheb Gadgil, ex-Governor, Punjab, lashed out strongly at the Congress brand of socialism and said: "What does freedom and talk of socialism mean to people if one cannot get even a kilo of sugar without having to pay a blackmarket price!"

Shri Gadgil warned the rulers that if the present corruption and blackmarketing continued there would be an upheaval!

* * * * *

SOCIALISTS TO MOVE 'NO-TRUST' MOTION

The Socialist Party will sponsor a no-confidence motion against the Government when the Lok Sabha reassembles in August.

This decision was taken by the Party's National Committee which concluded its three-day deliberations in Bombay. Mr. Raj Narain Singh, chairman of the Party, presided.

The motion will be a joint effort if the Communist Party of India supports such a move. Otherwise, the Socialist Party will "go it alone."

To buttress the motion, the Party will simultaneously launch an intensive, country-wide signature drive for a petition to the Lok Sabha.

Other Policies

The Committee by another resolution stated that the Government's policies in relation to agriculture, industry, foreign affairs and defence were "more worthless" than what they had imagined.

By another resolution, it stated that Opposition parties should make an effort to achieve "joint programme on concrete and specific issues."

Among the special invitees, who participated in the deliberations, was Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia.

* * * * *

CONGRESS WHOLLY RESPONSIBLE FOR THE PRESENT ILLS

MORADABAD,

Addressing local Congress and Bharat Sevak Samaj workers and others Shri A. G. Kher, former U.P. Assembly Speaker and chairman of the State Bharat Sevak Samaj, criticised the Congress leadership.

Shri Kher placed all the blame for post-independence political ills, economic failure, high prices, public dissatisfaction and intensification of communalism on the Congress organisation which, he said, had fallen from grace.

The Congress, he said, no longer believed in its ideals of selfless service.

Shri Kher said the Five Year Plans were misconceived, unwieldy and uneconomic, which involved colossal waste of money and energy.

The former Speaker strongly condemned the high taxes and the compulsory savings scheme imposed this year.

* * *

V. K. K. KERALA C. M.?

The sudden appearance of Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon in the State and his busy confabulations and moves with Mr. C. K. Govindan Nair, the KPCC Chief, at Calicut and Ernakulam, have combined to give credence to the apprehension that an attempt was on at high levels to instal Mr. V.K.K. Menon as the Chief Minister of Kerala.

—Malabar Herald.

* * *

NEHRU & T. T. K. ASKED TO RESIGN

RAIPUR:

Addressing a press conference at Bhopal, Mr. H. V. KAMATH, M.P. and Deputy Leader of the PSP group in the Lok Sabha, said that it was high time NEHRU decided to hand over the reins of office to his successor.

He said "In case the Prime Minister does not take such a decision, it will surely lead to the disintegration of the Congress Party."

The P.S.P. leader said that never before in the history of the Congress had it suffered so many resounding defeats within a fortnight.

Mr. Kamath bitterly criticised the statement of Union Minister, T. T. Krishnamachari in the U.S. and said that it was an example of foolish doctrinaire bravado. Mr. Krishnamachari, in a statement to United Nations Correspondents, had said: "When 400 million out of 440 million in India are wiped out and 40 million remain, that will be the time to discuss whether an air umbrella is necessary or whether American and British personnel should come to fight in India."

Mr. Kamath said that when a mere MUNDHRA affair forced T.T.K. to quit, did he now think that 400 million Indians had to be slaughtered before Government could agree to discuss the question of saving the remaining 40 million? The **Organiser** of Delhi reports:

Mr. Kamath said: "Surely our Nation is spirited enough, strong enough and patriotic enough to overthrow the Congress Government long before even one per cent of that figure are butchered, for lack of adequate defence!"

Let T. T. K. not forget the forced exit of Krishna Menon last year. T.T.K. would not have made such a remark if he truly loved his country and people.

"My Party is not in favour of foreign air bases which a permanent air umbrella may entail, but surely we must be prepared for such an eventuality in case of a massive land and air attack by China.

"India's freedom and integrity must be defended by all means at all costs. Who will hold an air umbrella over a shamshan or a cemetery?"

"Who will let T.T.K. and his colleagues remain in office when defenceless Indians are slaughtered by the enemy?"

"T.T.K. should study afresh the history of Europe during World War II and learn how various countries united against the German menace," Mr. Kamath concluded.

* * *

CONGRESSMEN REVOLT AGAINST GOVERNMENT

The **Organiser** of Delhi reports:

"For long now, Congressmen have mortgaged their tongues to the Congress Government. Let them now rise in revolt against the rulers, redeem their freedom of speech, and ruthlessly expose their misdoings." Shri S. S. More, M.P., was in a rebellious mood when he gave this above call to Congress workers gathered for a meeting here last week (May 26).

Shankar Rao More's was a still more merciless onslaught. "The problem of rising prices," he warned, "has become so acute that a continuing failure to tackle it effectively can endanger the law and order situation in the country!"

To Congressmen, More's exhortation was clear. "Rise in revolt, stage huge demonstrations against the Government. Only when the Congress Ministry realises that its base itself is crumbling, will it start thinking of the people."

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IN THIS ISSUE

EDITORIAL:

Page

How to Fight the China-Pak Axis 2

War And Philosophy
By M. A. Venkata Rao .. 5

PSP Shakes Off The Shackles
By M. N. Tholal .. 7

Equality
By Realist 9

DELHI LETTER:

"Hush, Hush" All Over 11

Book-Review 12

The Mind of the Nation 13

News And Views 13

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25
NAYA PAISA

HOW TO FIGHT THE CHINA-PAK AXIS

NEWS is again percolating from behind the Chinese Bamboo Curtain in Tibet into the Indian side of the Himalayan region, about the heavy concentration of Chinese troops along the NEFA border in the Easter sector, Barhoti in the middle sector and Ladakh in the Western sector. The distant hustlings of the Chinese military jack-boots and the rumblings of the Chinese guns are being heard on our northern border. The actual gun-running from the Chinese side across India's frontiers is expected to begin in a month or two, when the mountain passes will be cleared of the snows. Some time back it was also reported that this time, the Chinese invasion is likely to break through Burma into Assam and her rich oil-fields.

During the lull that resulted from the unilateral withdrawal of the Chinese troops from NEFA and Ladakh in November last, China has been mounting a well-planned attack against India on the diplomatic front too. She has been wooing Nepal and other Himalayan States. She has almost won over Pakistan to her side in the Sino-Indian conflict by bargaining with the latter territories of Kashmir and Ladakh belonging to India. The result is, Pakistan is now busy black-mailing India and supporting China at all international conferences and meets and by doing so, she has earned unstinted praise and gratitude from the Chinese Premier Chou En-lai who in his turn has now publicly pledged China 'to defend Pakistan throughout the world as Pakistan defended China in SEATO and CENTO.' Thus the China Pakistan Axis has been formed against India and has been set in motion vigorously.

'BAMBOO AND STICK' MENTALITY

It will therefore be worthwhile to consider how our Government is reacting to this rather complicated and uncomfortable situation. Its hard prejudices against Western nations do not yet show any signs of relenting even in the face of a first-class military crisis that confronts the country both in the East and the West. Mr. Nehru has gone on record as having said in a rhetorical flourish at Madras, that he could never think of handing over the defence of India into foreign hands (which, in fact, no opposition party has ever asked for) and that rather than doing so the country would even fight the Chinese enemy with sticks. This is an amazing statement for 'The Leader of the Nation' to make at this critical hour when India's very existence as a free nation is menaced by the Chinese bandits who are almost spoiling for a second fight with India. Mr. Nehru has been always condemning the 'bullock-cart' mentality of the Indian people just to sell to them his patent panacea of the Five-Year-Plans for all their ills. It

would be more in the fitness of things for the common man of India now to chide Mr. Nehru with having exhibited in a non-chalant manner his 'bamboo and stick' mentality in the matter of fighting an unscrupulous but well-equipped foe in this nuclear age.

QUIXOTIC AND PUERILE

To seek military self-sufficiency for India in the near future as Mr. Nehru is doing is simply quixotic and puerile. It must be clearly understood at least by the people if not by Mr. Nehru, that there is absolutely no possibility of India being in a position to defend herself with her own military might, if China should attack India in the next few months as expected. In such an eventuality compulsions of India's defence will surely warrant a massive military aid to India from the Western countries not only in money and arms but also in military personnel. England and France had to do so in the last Great War against Hitlerite Germany in defence of their free way of life. One therefore fails to understand what stands in the way of India entering into a similar military pact with European countries for the purpose of hurling back the Chinese hordes from the Indian soil, except the Socialist or Communist ideological obsessions and aberrations on the part of the Congress leadership. If Non-alignment does not mean, as Dr. Radhakrishnan assured the American people "any kind of equivocation or giving away of the fundamental principles on which democracy is rooted," our Government should lose no time in arriving at such a military alliance with the West for maintaining and preserving India's security and integrity.

FAILURE ON THE DIPLOMATIC FRONT

On the diplomatic front too, India seems to be losing heavily. Of the six countries which sponsored the Colombo Proposals, three have already backed out of them in favour of China. Even out of the remaining three, UAR is reported to have come round to the view that India should open in her own interests, unconditional negotiations with China, lest the Cease-Fire line unilaterally fixed by China, but all the same tacitly accepted by India for the time being, be stabilised as in the case of Kashmir dispute. The masterly inactivity of Mr. Nehru and his Government in the matter of reoccupying the areas vacated by China in NEFA and Ladakh has created an unfortunate impression among the non-aligned powers that India would never be able to defend her frontiers against China and therefore she had better come to terms with the latter on this issue. Probably for the same rea-

sons, America and England too, are dismissing any probability in the near future of an armed conflict between India and China and are reluctant to equip India with all the war weapons mentioned in the 'Shopping List' presented to them by the Indian Government and its representatives sent abroad.

INDIA, AS THE DEFENDER OF DEMOCRATIC FAITH

But notwithstanding India's peace-mongering postures, it is as certain as anything that China's War Communism would not allow her to be quiet for any length of time on the Indian border. 'The Great Leap Forward' which has been such an abysmal failure in China, must be compensated for, by 'The Great Leap Forward' across the Himalayas and towards South-East Asia, if the present regime is to survive and continue to rule the country. So our leaders would do well to ponder over this aspect of Chinese Communism. If they did so, they would at once realise the necessity of replying to the Communist War-Lords of China in the only language they understand. Our leaders would then come to think that the wanton employment of force by China against India should be met by the combined military might of India and that of the Democratic World. The Pakistan-Chinese attempt to isolate India politically in South Asia could be countered by India's forging political ties with Afghanistan on the basis of her fullest support to the Pakhtoonistan movement for self-determination and the unassailable democratic demands of East Pakistanis. India should also turn her attention to the formation of an Asian Democratic Bloc consisting of India, Nepal, Bhutan, Sikkim, Malasia, Formosa and Japan as against the vicious and unholy Pak-China combination. All these energetic steps and moves taken by India would surely convince the Western world and the neutral Afro-Asian nations, of India's determined bid to fight and contain communist China and her allies in South Asia and they will be ever willing to extend all their moral sympathy and military aid to India. Particularly India should not hesitate to recognise the Government of Formosa as a counterblast to the China-Pak flirtations and to take its aid if necessary in training our soldiers in military guerilla warfare.

India is thus by her strategic position in South Asia, inexorably cast for playing the role of the Defender of the Democratic Faith not only within her borders but also all over South Asia. And she will have played the part gloriously and well when she is in a position to confront the Pak-China Totalitarian Axis with the firm and broad-based Free Alliance of Asian nations and if necessary even to smash it.

AFRICA A POLITICAL ENTITY OR A GEOGRAPHICAL EXPRESSION?

Hitherto Africa has been considered to be more a geographical expression than a closely

unit political and cultural entity. Even in respect of race and colour, it could not be called a purely 'black' country since the Mediterranean countries of Egypt, Algeria and the like are inhabited by fair races like the Arabs. Culturally also it is not homogeneous. Nasser of Egypt is more of an Arab and a good Muslim than an African, properly so-called. Ethiopia is culturally distinguishable from the surrounding Arab countries and the tribal kingdoms by its long history traceable to the days of King Solomon. Politically speaking, it is reported that only one among every three countries that had met together at Addis Abba Conference to set up a permanent organisation of African Unity, had a Parliamentary Government, the rest being under dictatorships or the rule of tribal chieftains. The inherent contradictions and conflicts, cultural, political and even racial among these African nations were all but spot-lighted at the conference and tended to point out the difficulties and complications involved in evolving African Unity.

To add to these difficulties the political supremacy of the Whites in South Africa, South Rhodesia and Angola and some other regions the ever-deepening and ever-widening Chinese and Russian influence in Somali Land and such other areas have become great stumbling-blocks in the path of a resurgent and united Africanhood, if there be such a thing in existence at all. It is only anti-White feelings which appear to have brought these African countries together

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and enabled them to present a united front against the stupid policies of apartheid followed by the South African Government, at the U. N. and recently at the International Labour Conference in Geneva.

That the political domination of the Whites in Africa should go, every democrat will agree. But one is not sure that the disappearance of the White rule will alone pave the way for African Unity. At the moment, obviously Africa does not appear to be more than a geographical expression. Moreover, the question is well worth considering whether creating such myths as African, Asian or European Personalities which have no basis in actual facts of life and which are not rooted in democratic traditions, will not directly come into conflict with the U. N. ideal of a World Order under which the frontiers of freedom will be extended to one and all countries, small or great, irrespective of race, colour, caste and creed. It is even feared in responsible democratic quarters that such artificially created jingoistic Personalities might do more harm than good to the cause of world peace and universal brotherhood.

PRO-NEHRUISM OF THE REDS AMPLY REWARDED

Recent release of a large number of Communist Detenues from the prisons, by the Indian Government only confirms the widely-held belief that the democratic professions of the Indian Government are only skin-deep and they are designed only to conceal from the public view, the real aims and intentions of the Government. Mr. Nehru's pro-Communist sympathies are well-known. His writings had already announced them from the house-tops. His doings in the course of his uninterrupted Prime Ministership extending over sixteen years, have only proved them beyond doubt. His latest utterances at Madras and other places only go to show that he is incorrigible in this respect and does not want to learn or unlearn anything from China's betrayal of his Panchashila and Bhai-Bhai-ism.

If, according to Nehru, no Chinese attack is imminent, why on earth is the Government still keeping up the pretence of Emergency in the country? To judge from the release of the Communist leaders, the Government no longer thinks that the activities of the Reds pose any serious threat to India's security and integrity.

The only inference that one can draw from this strange and incongruous behaviour of Nehru's Government is that the Congress is in a terrible fix. The leadership is almost frightened out of its wits at the growing influence of the opposition parties in the country as reflected in the results of the recent by-elections to the Parliament. By their ill-conceived planning, Gold Control Orders and Compulsory Saving Schemes the Congress has forfeited all sympathy and confidence of the democratic forces in the country.

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driven helplessly to its old discredited policies of fraternising with the Reds.

The Government appears to have now decided to exempt the Reds from all rigours of the Emergency and thus reward them amply for their 'loyalty' to Nehru. But the tragedy is that the rest of the population will, all the same continue to writhe and groan under the crushing and intolerable conditions created by the Emergency.

HOME-THRUSTS AT CONGRESS PROHIBITION POLICIES

Though discredited, Prohibition has become an Article of Faith with some Congress dignitaries. The Central Finance Minister is one of them. He said the other day that he did not feel like believing in the reports prepared on the subject by persons who are not themselves prohibitionists. So a Study Team was set up to probe into the working of Prohibition and to suggest how best it would be implemented with Justice Teckchand as its Chairman. The Study Team is now touring in the Maharashtra State for the present.

But the Finance Minister would be sadly disappointed to learn that among his own Congressmen at Bombay and Poona, many persons have appeared before the Team with their statements and memoranda unequivocally demanding that Prohibition should be scrapped. A B.P.C.C. group from Bombay led by two prominent members of the Congress Executive showed its stark realism by pointing out to the Team that 'the dry policy has been a total failure and has contributed in a very great measure to corruption at all stages of the administrative machinery, affecting further the living standard.' This is indeed a courageous and admirable statement, coming as it does, from the fold of the Faithful. The same thing happened at Poona. The Poona City Congress leaders like Mr. More, M.P. and Mr. Mate, The District Congress President gave evidence before the Study Team in the same strain and delivered the much-needed home-thrusts to the Congress prohibitionist fanatics like Mr. Morarji Desai.

These Congressmen have also made one more point clear. They do not think that any more tightening of the Prohibition Laws and their strict enforcement would mend matters. They appear to prefer Temperance to Prohibition instead.

—D. M. Kulkarni.

FOOD FOR THOUGHT:

'There is no democracy today. The Congress Government have established a reign of terror in the country by promulgating Acts and Ordinances blacker than the Black Acts of the British regime.'

—Jai Prakash Narain
'I am a citizen of the World; I am a citizen of Weimer.'

—Goethe

WAR AND PHILOSOPHY

By M. A. VENKATA RAO

It is the duty of States and all social agencies to safeguard the good life to have at their command, force stronger than that of the evil elements ranged against them. Eternal vigilance with the powder dry and adequate arms and skill and mental alertness are all inescapable duties of the guardians, according to the philosophy of war as taught in the Gita and in Plato's Republic.

Among primitive tribes, war was a total strife that involved every member of the contending groups.

But there were intervening centuries of civilisation when it was largely a matter of royal dynasties and professional armies, mobilising but a fraction of the resources in men and materials of societies. This was the national and imperial stage just passed in Europe and America.

After the world war I, we are once again in the age of total war—at a higher level of organisation, resources, numbers, area and destruction.

War is an activity that draws such large part of man's energy and destiny into its orbit and determines his social future for generations so **decisively** that it is not inappropriate to speak of the philosophy of war. If we can have philosophies of politics, of history, of fine art or beauty, of morals and of reality as such (metaphysics) we can certainly have a philosophy of war with equal justification. For what is required for the philosophical treatment of a subject is that it concern a **large aspect** of human experience and have ramifications that involve his values and destiny.

Jesus Christ preached an ethics the exact opposite of war. He exhorted his disciples and through them—all mankind to turn the other cheek to him who smote one cheek and to give the cloak also to him who took his coat away from him. This is not non-resistance. If strictly followed, it would mean satyagraha of a kind.

That is why many early christians refused to serve in the army and police and as judges and magistrates and incurred the displeasure of the States of which they were citizens.

The Society of Friends (otherwise known as Quakers) have consistently maintained this attitude of non-violence through the centuries as the true teaching of Christ. They have been conscientious objectors to war service and have suffered imprisonment and persecution during wars involving their nations, which they have borne patiently.

But the vast majority of European races rejected this doctrine of non-resistance or abolition of war under all circumstances as a spiritual principle as **counsel of perfection**. They made compromise and arrived at a practical morality that gave due recognition to war-making to repel aggressive enemies.

But during the Middle Ages, alarmed by the Saracen occupation of the Holy Land, Popes and Christian Princes proclaimed a Holy war exhorting all good Christians to engage in a Crusade to recover the Holy Land for Christendom. This marked a change from defensive to aggressive tactics, from defensive to offensive war, to match the Islamic pressure which was inspired by a troublefree faith in holy war for the advancement of the Faith of the Crescent.

Thus Christianity ended in contradictions and later yielded in theory to practical national exigencies and the Church of each nation blessed its own nation when at war and called on the Almighty for Victory.

The philosophy of war should take into consideration material from many fields—history, politics, ethics, sociology and psychology. Even the earliest speculators like Heraclitus have observed the pervasive feature of conflict in nature as a whole as well as in human life.

Nature seems to be a dynamic equilibrium of opposing forces—heat and cold, positive and negative electricity, to use modern terms.

The Sankhya philosophy in India which goes back to the dim dawn of civilisation thinks of a homogeneous state of equilibrium of **gunas** which is upset by a **shock** coming from somewhere. This shock starts on initial movement and splits the homogeneity of nature into the threefold **sattya, rajas** and **tamas** ingredients which split again into more complicated pattern resulting in the physical and chemical objects we know today. Later living beings emerge.

But the initial shock might have caused a single upset-like the ruins caused by the shock of an earthquake. But why should the movement **continue** and in such order and in such an **upward direction**, creating or allowing life and species and mind and reason to emerge?

What is the reason and justification for this **Nisus**? Or upward, constant push or attraction or both? The conflict of opposites is an idea that is powerless to explain this upward emergence of superior orders of being.

How can Mind emerge out of mindless chaos and Peace out of war, if war is the essence and nature of things?

Turning to human nature, we have the verdict of psychology that man is endowed with instincts like pugnacity and self-assertion. They lead to fighting if the desires of the person are

thwarted. Man has desires and if his desires come into clash with the desires of other men, and if neither yields, conflict must take place. The stronger will drive the weaker to the wall and take the prize. The law of the ocean fish (**matsya nyaya**) that the bigger fish will swallow the smaller, holds true of man as well.

The conflict between Pakistan and India arises because Pakistan wants a large part of India's territory, if not the whole of it! A Muslim writer who wrote a book on the eve of Independence in 1946 from which Dr. Rajendra Prasad quotes in his learned book **India Divided** (1946) writes: "There is not a square inch of soil in the whole of India from Kashmir to the Cape on which our ancestors had not shed their precious blood for the conquest of India. Therefore by right of that blood, we, their descendants, claim the whole of India as our rightful heritage!" and no doubt the writer intends his co-religionists to back that claim by **fighting** relentlessly against Hindustan.

This is the cause of war in a nutshell. Those who ignore this radical root in **Pakistani ambition** for the whole of India—not a mere idle wish but a determination to win, (through fighting and diplomacy and all the usual means known to history) and mouth pious platitudes that we are friends of Pakistan are deceiving themselves and deceiving Indians generally. It is always better to face Facts honestly and squarely.

The Pakistanis have a philosophy of War—Holy War against India. They exhort their people to **hate** India. Their first Prime Minister called the people of India every year publicly on the occasion of Id festival **Dushman** (The Enemy) from the Lahore Mosque.

Pakistanis are taught the theocratic doctrine that they will go to heaven if they **kill kafirs**, even by assassination!

They make no bones about hatred, about its being harmful to hate. Indian leaders like Nehru teach on the contrary that Indians should **not** hate the enemy—the Chinese People, but only their Aggression against us! It is like Gandhi teaching us **not** to hate the British but only his rule over us.

Indian thinkers—and even politicians, refer to the Bhagavadgita and point to the teaching of Lord Krishna to this effect. Though Krishna persuaded Arjuna to fight his cousins in the war, he taught him to fight like a **yogi**—dispassionately, disinterestedly, with no love for any creature, no **hatred** against anyone, no **interest** in success, equal in success and failure etc. etc.

This is India's philosophy of war. It says that there arise occasions in the history of society when **fighting becomes unavoidable**.

For however good and patient we may be, however non-provocative we might be, (little India **vis-a-vis** Pakistan) there will always be certain persons with an evil disposition. They will misuse our unpreparedness for aggression against

us. They will take unfair advantage of our openness and friendliness. They will take advantage of every good we give them and far from being grateful, they will plan to extract some more!

As the British went on increasing the jobs open to Indians, we developed the taste not for more jobs but for the sovereignty wherewith we might give jobs to ourselves!

So the Chinese and the Pakistanese wish to extract more from pliant India through intimidation—and actual fighting—knowing that we are unprepared!

There is an infinite element in man—which makes him **insatiable** with any acquisitions short of totality. It is **only force greater than they can withstand** that deters them from seeking to gain such unfair benefit at the expense of the weaker!

We should remember this when suggestions are made to us to surrender more parts to Pakistan to appease the Pakistanis. If the British and the Americans **can guarantee** in open treaty that the Pakistanis will drop their secret treaty with China to the detriment of India (to stab India in the back when China attacks and to grab territory—e.g. Kashmir Valley and Assam), India can agree to surrender a part of Kashmir—even the Valley, if the people wish to go to Pakistan.

As Mr. Gorwala has been suggesting, we might then agree to a plebiscite observed by (not managed by) international observers from neutral nations (Switzerland, Sweden, Ireland, Mexico—not England, not the U.S.A. which are interested Powers nor any of the communist States).

For we cannot consent to transfer nationals like cattle to hostile nations without their consent.

Also, the plebiscite should be held in the areas occupied illegally by Pakistan as well! Ladakh and Jammu should be exempt or if their population should be subjected to the ordeal for form's sake, their votes should be counted for separate regions—for Jammu and for Ladakh.

That is, Jammu and Ladakh should not be liable to be transferred to Pakistan by reason of an overall majority in the whole of Kashmir, Jammu and Ladakh as a single voting area, ignoring majorities voting against such merger in Pakistan in Jammu and Ladakh.

There is no justification for the philosophy of total pacifism based on the **maya** doctrine which bamboozles some thinkers. Some traditional thinkers have a Ramayana **antharartha** or inner interpretation for Rama's epic according to which the fighting is eviscerated of its materialistic and human plane. It is made to stand for the inner fight of man's spirit against his inner vices—greed, egoism, anger etc.

Such an interpretation is also given for the Bhagavadgita in terms of maya and inner struggle for virtue against vice and moral weakness.

(Continued on Page 8)

PSP SHAKES OFF THE SHACKLES

By M. N. THOLAL

THE Bhopal Conference of the Praja Socialist Party has retrieved some of its lost prestige by electing Mr. S. M. Joshi to the Chairmanship in place of Mr. Asoka Mehta who, being a friend of Mr. Nehru, had little heart in his job as a leader of the Opposition. In Mr. S. M. Joshi, the Party appears to have found a man of common sense, so lacking in most of our leaders. This might facilitate the forging of unity between the two Socialist parties.

The sixth National Conference of the Praja Socialist Party at Bhopal has done something to retrieve some of its lost prestige during the chairmanship of Mr. Asoka Mehta which continued mysteriously for four years. No wonder he had to confess "real sorrow" that for more than a year he had not been able to function in the Party in any meaningful sense of the term. The true reason would appear to be in a friend of Mr. Nehru finding himself a leader of the Opposition and thus having little heart in his job. He summed up the position well when he said that the armed hostility of China and the antipathy of Pakistan towards India, coupled with the reluctance of the great powers to get adequately interested in the basic dispute, had created a different situation for India. But he showed his dual mentality again when he said it was tragic that neither the Government nor most of the Opposition parties had cared to understand the full import of the Chinese challenge. Surely, as an Opposition leader, it is also his main business to fix the responsibility for the difficult situation in which the country finds itself today. His failure to do so can only be due to his affection for his old colleague, which in fact disqualifies him for the role he has been playing for the last four years. Is it possible to understand the full import of the Chinese challenge without understanding what it was that made it possible?

This is no time for philosophizing and it is as well that Mr. Mehta has given place to a leader who seems better suited to the task of leading the Party. How wide the differences between him and the rank and file of the Party have been, were emphasised by Mr. Mehta himself when, talking to newsmen at Bhopal, he expressed his complete disagreement with the operative part of all the four resolutions adopted by the sixth annual conference of the Praja Socialist Party. But it is to his credit that he realises the folly of creating confusion among party workers and the people by airing his views. Our leaders do not know when to retire and hold on to their leadership until they find it impossible to do so. Mr. Mehta would have done a greater service to his party if he had chosen to retire from the chairmanship of his party at least two years ago, for, on his own confession, he had been finding himself a misfit. It is amazing how personal considerations interfere in this country with public service according

to one's convictions. This has been the bane of Indian politics for decades, and may indeed be said to have been the cause of the division of the country. Yet we are none the wiser for it. Why should we hesitate to give expression to our differences with personal friends when patriotism demands it? If we do, it can only be because we do not place patriotism first.

The new chairman of the Party, Mr. S. M. Joshi, said at Bhopal that the reverses suffered by India during the Chinese aggression had proved that the Congress Government was not competent to run the country. He might have more truly blamed the situation, internal as well as international, created by the Congress Government, resulting in those reverses, for which the Congress Government alone can be held responsible. It has been a failure all along the Congress Government's basic policies, which have hardly come in for criticism except at the hands of that far-seeing statesman in the South, C. Rajagopalachariar. And yet we hardly find any appreciation, in any party except the Swatantra, of the honesty and the frankness of the analysis of the situation by that statesman. Indeed, one finds more zeal in the shouting of the slogan against the English language — "Angrezi hatao" — as if it was the English language that was responsible for the Chinese aggression and the country's present isolation.

Not until patriots in this country decide to wage a relentless war against careerism in all its shapes and forms will it be possible for India to have a government which looks after the security and welfare of the people. Slogans such as the one quoted above are slogans of careerists, who want to dupe the people into shouting their "jai". Our patriotism, since the beginning of the Gandhian era, has been reduced to the fine art of fishing in troubled waters for personal glory, when what has been needed is courage to blurt out the truth even at the cost of losing following in the country. For example, unity between the Jana Sangh and the Socialists is not enough for some. Why should not the Jana Sangh unite with the Communists also? And why not with the Chinese Communists too? Referring to internal squabbles in the Party, Dr. P. C. Ghose said at the annual conference that he sometimes thought he was in a mad house and totally unfit to be its member. That is what the present writer often feels after reading his

morning paper — that he is in a mad house and totally unfit to be an Indian.

THE NEW LEADER

It is to be hoped that the exit of Mr. Mehta will provide fresh avenues for forging unity between the two Socialist parties on the basis of promotion of Socialism in the country. In Mr. S. M. Joshi the Party appears to have found a man of commonsense, so conspicuously lacking in most of our leaders. He said the Praja Socialist Party had been hitherto following a policy of responsive co-operation with the Government and that policy had failed because of the intransigence and selfishness of the ruling party. It is of course no part of his job to condemn his predecessors. But why should the PSP have been following a policy of responsive co-operation vis-a-vis a Government which has a thumping majority in Parliament and State legislatures, and why should it have in the circumstances expected any response from the Congress Party? It is to be hoped that the PSP has at last learnt the elementary political lesson — that there is no generosity in politics, not even for the sake of the good of the country, at least in those lands where public opinion is not ever ready to create a furore at the least indication of sacrifice of the national interest for personal gain.

There is much with which a patriot can agree in the statements of Mr. Joshi at a news conference in Bombay on June 13. The new line of his party, he said, was to bring sufficient popular pressure on the Government to change its policies, by creating public opinion for a better climate and a mighty defence effort. His diagnosis of the present situation is unassailable. Today the mood of the people, as he said, has completely changed. The workers who had come forward voluntarily to contribute their mite to the defence effort were unfortunately no longer eager to do the same, and the trading community that had refrained from indulging in hoarding and black-marketing had now slid back, while the Government were misusing the emergency powers for partisan ends. Above all that, as he added, while giving sermons of austerity to the people, the Government was indulging in extravagance and waste in its administration and corruption was rampant.

In a written statement he summed up his charge against the Government with the observation that the unprecedented upsurge of people's enthusiasm manifested after the Chinese aggression had been allowed to be dissipated by the Government by their indecision, lack of determination and dedication to accept the challenge of Communist China, and the surging popular passions and emotions were allowed to ebb out giving place to despondency and frustration. Indeed, what are the people to think when they see the amounts of the electricity bills of

our austere ministers, or hear that the Prime Minister's own daughter has been saying at public meetings that it matters little whether Indian territory near the Himalayas remains with India or with China, as it is uninhabited? That is what Mr. H. V. Kamath said at Bhopal while demanding the resignation of Mrs. Indira Gandhi from the chairmanship of the Central Citizens Defence Council. Has she not heard of the Indian Parliament's sacred resolve to throw out the Chinese, sponsored by her own father? Indeed, after reading utterances like these, one is reminded of the Persian proverb: **Choon kufr az Kaaba barkhezad kuja manad Musalmani?** (When disbelief raises its head from the holy Kaaba itself, where will Islam be?) From all that I know — and I know a great deal about the Nehru family — I can say that the daughter is used to paraphrasing her father's opinions. The man in the street, in any case, is apt to conclude that the daughter is voicing her father's opinions—with impunity—and the Prime Minister will do well to remind her of her responsibilities as his daughter. There can, however, be no denying that she has forfeited her right to be chairman of any defence council, to say nothing of the Central Citizens Defence Council. Her only qualification for the job was that she was the Prime Minister's daughter. (What greater qualification can there be for any job in India?) She should in any case not spoil her chances of succeeding her father, for which purpose she has been groomed over so many years.

(Continued from Page 6)

These may have some value but to regard them as the sole meaning and justification of the epic is to **dilute** their vigour and deprive them of their inspiring application to social life and its grim struggles.

The Gita itself has a more realistic estimate of the human situation when side by side with its exposition of the presence of the immanent God in all beings, it also draws attention to the **asuri sampath** or evil inheritance influencing some characters. Such wicked people are immune to good influences, are not grateful to any amount of generosity done to them. They want to scale the heavens and use the whole world and its resources as their means of power and pomp. They are deaf to reasonable appeal. They can only be checked by force greater than theirs.

This is the necessity of war in human affairs.

It is the duty of States and all social agencies safeguarding the good life to have at their command **force stronger** than that of the evil elements ranged against them. Preparedness and eternal vigilance with the powder **dry** and adequate arms and skill and mental alertness are all inescapable duties of the guardians, according to the philosophy of war (as taught in the Gita and in Plato's Republic).

THE "FALL OUT" from a nuclear explosion is more widespread, more lasting and may be more dangerous than the explosion itself. The radio-active dust of the French Revolution, as seems to have been seen by Edmund Burke almost alone amongst his thoughtful contemporaries, was the idea of equality. This has been floating around the world for a century and a half but it has only been precipitated in its full force in the first half of this century. It was postponed by the Napoleonic dictatorship and the Industrial Revolution until it was revived with terrible results by the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917.

On the face of it the idea of equality amongst men is benign and simple. Unfortunately it is constantly misinterpreted even by people of high intelligence and experience. The whole matter was summed up 23 centuries ago by Aristotle:—

"for if the persons are not equal they must not have equal shares; in fact this is the very source of all the quarrelling and wrangling in the world, either they who are equal have and get awarded to them things not equal or being not equal those things which are equal."

Justice has been well defined as "the absence of arbitrary inequality", but, as Aristotle indicates, it also implies the absence of arbitrary equality.

If an intellectual misunderstanding of the simple doctrine were all, comparatively small harm might have been done. Unfortunately the idea of equality is one which appeals to most men, at least in the sense that they wish to be equal to their superiors, but have no corresponding desire to be equal with those who are their inferiors. And the more ignorant, selfish and oppressed men are, the stronger is the appeal. It is the basis not merely of a desire for a more even distribution of economic goods but perhaps even worse, of an inferiority complex. This psychological disease not only affects individuals but organisations such as Trade Unions and Nations. It would be an interesting study to see how far the wars of this century, both great and small, have resulted from it.

Argument seems hopeless against emotion. As the Persian said before the battle Plataea:—
"No human affliction is worse than this; to know, and to be helpless"

All the same it is almost the only weapon which is left to combat or mitigate the disasters which have fallen and are falling so rapidly on almost all the nations of the world.

It happened through a series of racial, geographical and historical accidents that these islands became in effect the masters of a large

part of the uncivilised world in the 19th century. The incalculable benefits this brought to its peoples seem seldom to be appreciated. It so happened also that we had been welded into a coherent whole by 1,000 years of struggling history and the idea of nationhood and democracy had received amongst us its most enduring and strongest expression. Such an idea was wholly foreign to the greater part of Asia and Africa. But amongst the rapids which swirl beneath the catastrophic falls of the Russian Revolution and two great wars, the idea of nationality, which curiously enough was condemned by the Left Wing parties at home, was supported by them amongst the ignorant and warring tribes of these two continents. "We have and desire self-government. Therefore all other races, being equal, should have it too". This idea is a godsend to the murderous adventurers who, playing and preying on the feelings of the oppressed masses, have established themselves as independent patriots with the spreading of murder, corruption, fraud and tyranny.

The truth is that men even of the same race and particularly men of different races, are unequal by reason of their history, their education and, most important, of their genetic qualities. They are of course equal in the sense that their character, their feelings, their pains and pleasures cannot be arbitrarily distinguished or disregarded, but in other respects their inequality is profound.

For consider equality at home. This is not unnaturally associated with democracy and universal suffrage. We can give, and have given, equal voting rights to the halfwit, the criminal and the greatest men amongst us, but we cannot give them true equality. Inequality is ineluctable. We can deny it, shut our eyes to it, degrade and even execute superior men, but we cannot abolish it. "E pur si muove".

It might be thought that the great danger of attempted equality would be the reduction of all men to the same level. This would be a desperate disaster, for a battalion can only march at the pace of its slowest soldier. But it may be doubted whether it can happen. Certainly it cannot endure. The result of an attempt at equality of this kind has been throughout history and is today tyranny and a slave state. Are we sure, even in this country, that we are safe from that?

The effects of equalitarianism at home, though they have not resulted in a dictatorship are already becoming serious. Many people think that the real prosperity of the manual workers of this nation, considerable, though not so great as inflation makes it appear, is the result of pressure on their behalf by Trade Unions. Whether this is true to any extent is, to say the

least, doubtful. What is certain is that the enormous increase in production is the result of the exercise of the brains, character and organising power of superior men and the adaptation by industry, particularly large scale industry, of scientific discoveries and inventions. Was it not Foch who said—"It was not the Carthaginian Army that crossed the Alps, it was Hannibal"? It is now becoming obvious that we are short of people of the necessary intellectual and moral powers even to maintain, still less to improve, the nation's economic standards. This is largely due to equalitarian doctrines, which result in the less useful members of society receiving greater honour and being paid more than is proper relatively to the more useful brain workers. It is now a commonplace that neither young men, nor their parents, are prepared in large enough numbers to make the sacrifices necessary for a prolonged training, since they can so easily earn comparatively large sums with a very low degree of training, and even though they may ultimately attain higher economic levels than their fellows, the difference in remuneration, taxation bearing into account, is not sufficient to induce them to bear the sacrifices required.

Man is not only a sentient being. He is a machine. If good machinery is neglected or destroyed his comfort and even his existence will be destroyed.

There is one other matter which should be touched on here. In order to escape the manifest falsity of purely egalitarian doctrines many people substitute equality of opportunity as an aim for absolute equality. Few people, however, seem to examine its true implications. In the first place it is completely and absolutely different from the idea of equality since, as is obvious in any athletic meeting, or in any phase of life, men are not equal, and if they are given equal opportunity, the rewards will be unequal; only one man can win a race; he will get a prize which none of the others shares. One must consider when equality of opportunity is to start; to maintain the athletic metaphor, ought the whole of the competitors to be stopped in the middle of a race and to be started again afresh on equal terms? Is equality of opportunity to start at birth? If so, does this mean that parents who have shown exceptional qualities of skill, thrift and care for their children, are to obtain no advantage over those who are responsible for nothing but irresponsible reproduction? Again, are children to be taken from their parents' care immediately they are born? If not, it is obvious that those children whose parents are of a higher order than others will be bound to give their children great advantages in early infancy. Are all children to be given equality of opportunity when, say, they attain school age? If so, that again means depriving parents of the incentive to work and save for their children, which is one of the greatest things economically and morally in the life of any State and in particular of a modern State. The same arguments apply to an

attempt to give equality of opportunity after education is over. In short, are parents who have saved and worked and are therefore likely to be of superior stock not to be able to help their children to attain higher opportunities of service and reward than those who have not? Are the "good for nothings" for ever to be paid for by the "good for smethings" as Herbert Spenser foretold? Is not the truth that equality of opportunity is a chimaera? Of course there should not be gross and arbitrary inequality of opportunity but can anything more be truly said than this?

To sum up a subject which could be expanded to a great length, the whole idea of equality in sense of absolute equality is ridiculous. If we write "John Smith=Jack Jones" that means nothing except that John Smith and Jack Jones are different names for the same person. If we say that John Smith and Jack Jones should have equal opportunities then, as has been said, practically insoluble difficulties arise.

To recapitulate, the terrible danger of egalitarian ideas is not merely that they are seldom accurately apprehended but they appeal to so much that is lowest in human nature, and, paradoxical as it appears, they result in depriving human beings of an otherwise attainable measure of the equality which they most need, the power to develop their own qualities and nature.

—Freedom First, London.

REASON FOR KHRUSHCHEV'S RETREAT

How is one to explain the retreat of the present Communist leaders under Khrushchev from the positions of Leninism in international policy? Why does Khrushchev so insistently preach a policy of peaceful coexistence between countries of the socialist camp and states of the capitalist world, even going so far as to give spurious interpretations of Lenin's views on the subject? The reasons for this change in tactics are to be found in the advances of military technology. Even if the Soviet Union were victorious in an atomic war against the capitalist camp, the catastrophic consequences of such a war would leave the Communist leaders with no hope of creating Communism on the ruins of civilization. The new Party Programme states that "support for peaceful coexistence is also in the interests of the bourgeoisie, who realize that thermonuclear war would not spare even the ruling classes of capitalist society." The authors of the programme do not mention that the new ruling class of the Soviet camp would likewise not remain invulnerable in the event of atomic war, but it is this that has prompted the Soviet leaders to carry out a revision of Lenin's theories on war. The *rapprochement* between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, whose government long since abandoned Lenin's belief in the inevitability of a new world war, is in line with this policy. Only the Communist parties of mighty China and diminutive Albania remain true to the letter of Lenin's theory of the inevitability of war between the countries of socialism and the capitalist states.

—P. Fedenka (Bulletin, Institute for The Study of U.S.S.R.)

"Hush, Hush" All Over

(From Our Correspondent)

Prime Minister Nehru told his Press Conference on June 15 here that he did not propose to make public the report of Mr. S. K. Das, the Supreme Court Judge who went into the allegations against Mr. K. D. Malaviya. This, he said, was in deference to the wishes of Mr. Das. As if to clinch the issue, he added that Mr. Das had made it a condition that his report would not be laid on the table of Parliament. That being so, the matter of the publication of the report can be said to end there. But surely Mr. Nehru should not have accepted that condition. Whether a particular document is to be placed on the table of Parliament is for the Prime Minister and the Speaker to decide, and not those who are authors of that document at the instance of the Prime Minister. In this case the Prime Minister decided that the document will not be placed on the table of Parliament even before he had read it. Can it be that the Prime Minister agreed to the condition on which Mr. Das agreed to undertake the inquiry because he (Mr. Nehru) suspected that the report would be very damaging to the Congress Minister concerned, the Congress Government and the Congress Party? Some proof of its damaging character appears implicit in Mr. Nehru's statement that Mr. Malaviya sent his resignation before the report was received by Mr. Nehru. Apparently Mr. Malaviya was sure of the nature of the report, and he could only have been sure of it because of his failure to answer Mr. Das's questions even to his own satisfaction.

According to Mr. Nehru, Mr. Das made it a condition that his report would not be laid on the table of Parliament. That does not mean that he made it a condition that his report would not be shown even to leaders of the Opposition. But that is what Mr. Nehru implied when (replying to a correspondent who cited the British precedent of showing reports of inquiries to the Leader of the Opposition) he said, "I have told you this was the condition Mr. Das laid down before he undertook this inquiry." Is showing the report to leaders of the Opposition tantamount to making it public? Surely, there is a good deal of difference between the two, and Mr. Nehru is aware of it. In this respect at least Mr. Nehru is acting in deference to his own wishes rather than those of Mr. Das, and his own wishes in the matter are much more undemocratic and much more comprehensive than those of Mr. Das.

That Mr. Nehru himself appears to be averse to the publication of such reports is evident from his answer to the question regarding the publication of the report of the inquiry into the NEFA reverses suffered by the Indian

Army. Asked if the report, which Mr. Nehru said was being considered by the Defence Ministry, would be published, he told, the Press Conference, "I should imagine not." This hush-hush policy in regard to almost everything can hardly be said to be in consonance with the best traditions of democracy. What is His Majesty the Voter to base his opinions on, if the facts regarding Congress Ministers, their acts and their policies, are thus to be withheld from the public gaze?

INDIA AND PAKISTAN

Mr. Nehru made it clear at the Press Conference that any mediation between India and Kashmir must be in regard to all issues between the two countries and not only Kashmir. Not only that, surely. For, it is being increasingly felt here that if Pakistan insists on ascertaining the wishes of the people of Kashmir and on those wishes being respected, it should have no objection to a similar procedure being applicable to what has come to be called Pakhatoonistan. How can Pakistan insist on India following a procedure which she is unwilling to adopt in Pakistan itself? On the argument of identity of religion Pakistan can claim the whole Islamic world. Nor is the religious identity so convincing as the Muslim ministers of Pakistan would like to be taken for granted by the outside world. If the outrageous atrocities against the Ahmedias in the middle of the last decade, and the recent Shia-Sunni riots are any indication—they cannot be ignored by any student of politics or history—there would appear to be a very just case for the establishment of a Shiastan and an Ahmediastan in Pakistan. Let the Pakistani Government and leaders take their own argument to its logical conclusion in their own territory before seeking to apply it in neighbouring countries over whom they have no control. There is heally no sense in a state claiming its foundation in Islam, for there are varieties of Islam and each variety can claim separate existence on the basis of its particular faith.

The trouble with Pakistan is that, founded on the hatred of the Hindu Kafir, its politicians seek to thrive on that hatred — when the Kafir is not incidentally a Muslim Kafir, an Ahmedia or a Shia, as sometimes happens. The present military dictatorship was the result of the movement against the Ahmedias, which resulted in their being looted and murdered on a large scale and bade fair to put the leaders of the movement in power in Pakistan. The leaders of the movement asked in effect — and the question was a very valid one: "How can Pakis-

tan be "pak" (holy) so long as it contains such Kafir as Ahmedias?" (The Ahmedias do not believe in Prophet Mohamad's declaration that he was the last of the Prophets and continue to have prophets of their own.) As soon as democracy is restored in Pakistan, the question is bound to pop up again, for a true Muslim can hardly ignore it for long—indeed his leaders would not allow him to ignore it. How can there be truce with **Kufr** in Pakistan without making Pakistan "Napak" and unholy? The report of the inquiry committee into the disturbances against Ahmedias was a very interesting document, which has been unfortunately ignored in this country. For, it laid bare the unsoundness of a state having religion as its basis, as it immediately gives rise to the question, "Which religion?"

Mr. Nehru rightly said at the Conference: "The most unfortunate thing is that Pakistan has based itself on hatred of India." It has to be conceded in fairness to Pakistan, however, that it has to base itself on hatred of India. Otherwise it just goes phut, like a balloon. It cannot concede their due numerical superiority in Parliament to East Pakistanis, for fear of domination by an apparently lower order of Muslims. It therefore stands for domination by a minority, which becomes quite clear and distinct when Pakhtoons are denied their due voice in government. There are not only several varieties of Islam in Pakistan. There are also several grades of citizenship. The East Pakistani has always been a second class citizen, denied equality with the West Pakistani, just as the Ahmedias, and now the Shias, have to regard themselves as citizens on sufferance.

In effect the majority in Pakistan demands extermination of minorities. The question really posed by the Disturbances Inquiry Report was: "Should such people be entrusted with the government of their own country?" The answer is obviously in the negative. And should a government of such people be given extra territories to rule over? The answer again is obviously "NO". But the fact remains: the extermination of Kafirs (i.e., minorities) has got to be the first article of the faith of Pakistan, if it is to be really and truly Pakistan. If it wants to be Kafiristan like India, as its rulers apparently want it to be in desiring that the Faithful should remain at peace with Kafirs, that is another matter, but no one who wants to be at the helm in Pakistan dare say so publicly. Only Mirza, the predecessor of President Ayub, had the courage to ask: "Has there ever been any state in the world which was truly Islamic?" Nevertheless, how can the Faithful, if they are full of the true faith, as they should be, tolerate faithlessness and the unfaithful?

MALAVIYA'S LATEST

There is nothing improper in Mr. K. D. Malaviya defending his oil policy, which, as the Prime Minister pointed out at his Press Confer-

ence, is the Government's policy and not Mr. Malaviya's. But for him to say that it would continue despite his exit from the Government is rather presumptuous. Mr. Malaviya added, "My resignation from the Government may be for good, bad or indifferent reasons, but in a transitional frame of democracy these things have to happen." What things? The things which made him leave the Cabinet in ignominy? He proceeded to "assure the Soviet Union that India's oil policy will continue to stay and any one who would like to deflect this policy will have to burn his finger." Well, he has burnt his, in any case, and it would have been more profitable for his colleagues if he had given them some advice on how to avoid doing so. Also, the public would have appreciated a challenge from him to the powers-that-be to publish the report of Mr. S. K. Das. We would then have what kind of a man he is. Is it fair that there should be one code of conduct for an industrialist and another for a patriot pledged to the service of the country — a much lower one?

Book Review

PATHS IN UTOPIA by Martin Buber, Beacon Press, Boston, paperback, \$1.50. Reviewed by Wendal Bull.

This book should be in School of Living Library and on the reading tables of all earnest social idealists and community builders. One of the ablest minds of our time herein traces the historical development of non-Marxian socialism. "Utopians," it should be understood, is the label used by Marxists to damn all non-Marxian social reformers. In the shadow of the tragic results flowing from Marxian-Leninist dogma, the author re-appraises the work and thought of some leaders in the Co-operative and Libertarian schools. These men never forgot the priority of the "social principle"—the spirit of living community among voluntary co-operators—as distinct from, and superior to, the "political principle" of expediency via coercion which the Marxians embrace.

Beginning with the three men of whom Marx's collaborator, Engels, spoke as "the founders of socialism"—Saint-Simon, Fourier, and Robert Owen—Buber examines and compares their thoughts; touches upon the work of such men as King, Thompson, Buchez, Blanc, Lassalle and others; and then devotes a chapter each to Proudhon, Kropotkin and Landauer, the most influential European libertarians. Marx and Lenin are also given a chapter each in order to establish with ample references and quotations the central and conclusive shortcomings in their doctrine, and in their "sort of mentality."

Marxian socialism (i.e., political, or compulsory, socialism) has not moved toward "the withering away of the state" which Marx pre-

dicted, but has revealed itself, Buber says, "as a mass of socialistic expostulations, (and) no Socialist form at all." This is because the Marxists had no understanding of the need for voluntary co-operation in the re-structuring of social-economic customs by the people themselves. Without decentralized responsibility and autonomous re-structuring, arising "spontaneously, from below upwards"—which the "utopian" socialists did visualize—socialism becomes merely another repressive state, with political but not humanitarian vitality.

Some readers will be dismayed to find Buber warning against world political government as "a danger greater than all previous ones: the danger of a gigantic centralization of power... devouring all free community." Others will be disappointed to find the following criticism of the Co-operative Movement: the theory that co-operative economic organization could lift the capitalist world off its hinges, as Tonnies phrased it, "can never become a reality," Buber says, "so long as the life-forms of capitalism permeate co-operative activity." The present reviewer is reluctant to note that "the life-forms of capitalism" are not specified at any point in this book. The author fails even to suggest what these "life-forms" are; and it is doubtful whether he would concede that our conceptions and institutions of property, of exchange, of money and credit, and of land tenure need to be displaced at the grass roots by new conceptions and institutions in embryo (new life-forms of economic intercourse) before a truly co-operative spirit can begin to penetrate and to transform our sadly misguided civilization.

Written with that authenticity which negates all authoritarianism, here are the mature fruits of a broad and penetrating scholarship formulated with a rare wisdom and masterful powers of expression. A book for thinkers, not for slogan-mongers.

—'Way Out', School of Living,
Ohio.

The Mind of the Nation

PRESIDENT COMING INTO HIS OWN

The New York Times has not only praised our President as a renowned philosopher, educator and diplomat, but has interpreted him as one, who in recent months, is emerging as a key personality on the Indian political scene. His American tour has been a success for many reasons, first, that being natural, he has reflected a basic America tendency. Though he has indulged in a few platitudes, he has not shown the arrogance to which not only Menon but even Nehru thought Indians had a right from leadership of undeveloped countries. Secondly, he has, with no little courage, placed his own interpretation on our foreign policy, assuming thereby his constitutional headship of the country. In respect of non-alignment, he explained that "India is aligned to democracy, freedom and peaceful solution of all outstanding disputes." By

re-casting alignment with democracies, he confuted Nehru's equivocation of its being equally related to communism. The reference to freedom is in the ostensible context of its absence in communist countries. The peaceful solution of disputes can indicate a reference to our dispute with China to the Hague Court or U.N. Thirdly, he appears to have been more persuasive about our need for aid, without displaying any shopping list as T.T.K. did.

—Insight

News & Views

U. S. STAND 'FLEXIBLE' ON BOKARO AID WASHINGTON

Mr. Dean Rusk said the U.S. favoured the development of private enterprise abroad, but it did not want to be inflexible.

The U.S. Secretary of State made the comment at a congressional hearing marked by objections voiced by a Senator against a possible decision to help India to construct Bokaro steel mill.

Senator Frank Lausche (Democrat, Ohio), called on Mr. Rusk to state that the Government accepted the recommendation of the Clay Committee that the U.S. should not aid Government-operated projects which compete with private enterprise abroad.

Mr. Rusk testifying on the Foreign Aid Bill before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, said: "In general, we would like to see development with the participation of private enterprise, but we do not believe we should apply this (principle) in the most rigorous way regardless of other circumstances."

Mr. Rusk told the Committee that India faced a severe shortage in steel production. He said that private trade and industry circles in India had not objected to Government sponsoring of the mill.

"India is going to need steel," he added. "The question is whether private capital can be mobilised for this effort. This steel mill will almost certainly have to go into the public sector."

Senator Lausche said the U.S. was "following the wrong track" when it spent money to encourage private enterprise in its own country "and at the same time gave money to establish Socialist Governments throughout the world which are the antithesis of the democratic republic in which we live."

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CHINESE PROBE DEFENCE OF NEPAL, BHUTAN AND SIKKIM

Gangtok: According to reliable Tibetan sources Chinese military scouts have recently been probing areas all along the borders of Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan, assessing the defence potentialities of these Himalayan kingdoms and trying to locate weak spots for future offensives with an eye to outflanking movements.

Chinese scouts are being assisted by Tibetan youth leaders — the Chinese call them "thought leaders" — who have arrived in Tibet recently after completing training at the Peking Institute for Minority Nationalities.

This new technique of deploying "thought leaders" to create unrest by subverting and paralysing the administra-

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tive machinery must be studied and countered in time. Opposition leaders, including, Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, are anxious to get him back in politics. A few of them have already sounded him on this score.

Dr. Lohia may also meet him soon in this connection.

A prominent Praja Socialist leader told me that the entry of Mr. Narain into politics would create problems for the ruling party. He hoped Mr. Narain would accede to the request.

E. PAKISTAN WILL FIGHT FOR RIGHTS RAWALPINDI

President Ayub Khan was warned that East Pakistan would carry on its fight for "liberation" till political, economic and human rights were restored.

Mr. Ramizuddin Ahmed, an East Pakistan member of the National Assembly, gave this warning in the most scathing attack yet heard in the National Assembly on President Ayub and his martial law regime.

Mr. Ahmed said that the people of the Eastern wing honestly believed that they had lost all their rights under martial law.

He said they felt they had been reduced to "slavery" under the President and the bureaucracy.

Dr. Ahmed, speaking during the general discussion on the Budget, said that the bureaucracy was dominated by West Pakistanis and had consistently sabotaged development of East Pakistan.

Mr. Ahmed charged persons who fought for the restoration of these rights had been prosecuted.

The Deputy Speaker, Mr. Mohammed Afzal Cheem, reminded him of the constitutional immunity from criticism that the President enjoyed.

He said that Pakistan was too deeply indebted to America to think of war with India. In a war with India, he said, the Rs. ten-crore increase in defence expenditure was not going to help Pakistan defend itself.

SERAJUDDIN'S MISSING RS. 5 LAKHS

BHOPAL: The new PSP Chairman, Shri S. M. Joshi, said he had learnt from trust-worthy sources that the firm of Serajuddin had given Rs. 17 lakhs to Congressmen in Orissa during the midterm elections.

Only Rs. 12 lakhs out of the sum had been shown in the Congress organisation accounts. Nobody knew what happened to the rest of the money.

JAYA PRAKASH TO ENTER POLITICS AGAIN?

LUCKNOW: Some top opposition leaders are trying to persuade Mr. Jayprakash Narain, the Sarvodaya leader, to enter active politics again.

They feel Mr. Narain could rally all democratic non-Congress forces round him and give a serious challenge to Congress in the next General Election.

Acharya Kripalani will soon meet Mr. Narain to discuss the present political situation in the country and to plead with him to enter the political arena once again.

THE INDIAN LIBERTARIAN

GOD SAVE US FROM THIS SOCIALISM

Speaking at a Bombay meeting recently, Kakasaheb Gadgil, ex-Governor, Punjab, lashed out strongly at the Congress brand of socialism and said: "What does freedom and talk of socialism mean to people if one cannot get even a kilo of sugar without having to pay a blackmarket price!"

Shri Gadgil warned the rulers that if the present corruption and blackmarketing continued there would be an upheaval!

SOCIALISTS TO MOVE 'NO-TRUST' MOTION

The Socialist Party will sponsor a no-confidence motion against the Government when the Lok Sabha reassembles in August.

This decision was taken by the Party's National Committee which concluded its three-day deliberations in Bombay Mr. Raj Narain Singh, chairman of the Party, presided.

The motion will be a joint effort if the Communist Party of India supports such a move. Otherwise, the Socialist Party will "go it alone."

To buttress the motion, the Party will simultaneously launch an intensive, country-wide signature drive for a petition to the Lok Sabha.

Other Policies

The Committee by another resolution stated that the Government's policies in relation to agriculture, industry, foreign affairs and defence were "more worthless" than what they had imagined.

By another resolution, it stated that Opposition parties should make an effort to achieve "joint programme on concrete and specific issues."

Among the special invitees, who participated in the deliberations, was Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia.

CONGRESS WHOLLY RESPONSIBLE FOR THE PRESENT ILLS

MORADABAD,

Addressing local Congress and Bharat Sevak Samaj workers and others Shri A. G. Kher, former U.P. Assembly Speaker and chairman of the State Bharat Sevak Samaj, criticised the Congress leadership.

Shri Kher placed all the blame for post-independence political ills, economic failure, high prices, public dissatisfaction and intensification of communalism on the Congress organisation which, he said, had fallen from grace.

The Congress, he said, no longer believed in its ideals of selfless service.

Shri Kher said the Five Year Plans were misconceived, unwieldy and uneconomic, which involved colossal waste of money and energy.

The former Speaker strongly condemned the high taxes and the compulsory savings scheme imposed this year.

* * *

V. K. K. KERALA C. M.?

The sudden appearance of Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon in the State and his busy confabulations and moves with Mr. C. K. Govindan Nair, the KPCC Chief, at Calicut and Ernakulam, have combined to give credence to the apprehension that an attempt was on at high levels to instal Mr. V.K.K. Menon as the Chief Minister of Kerala.

—Malabar Herald.

* * *

NEHRU & T. T. K. ASKED TO RESIGN

RAIPUR:

Addressing a press conference at Bhopal, Mr. H. V. KAMATH, M.P. and Deputy Leader of the PSP group in the Lok Sabha, said that it was high time NEHRU decided to hand over the reins of office to his successor.

He said "In case the Prime Minister does not take such a decision, it will surely lead to the disintegration of the Congress Party."

The P.S.P. leader said that never before in the history of the Congress had it suffered so many resounding defeats within a fortnight.

Mr. Kamath bitterly criticised the statement of Union Minister, T. T. Krishnamachari in the U.S. and said that it was an example of foolish doctrinaire bravado. Mr. Krishnamachari, in a statement to United Nations Correspondents, had said: "When 400 million out of 440 million in India are wiped out and 40 million remain, that will be the time to discuss whether an air umbrella is necessary or whether American and British personnel should come to fight in India."

Mr. Kamath said that when a mere MUNDHRA affair forced T.T.K. to quit, did he now think that 400 million Indians had to be slaughtered before Government could agree to discuss the question of saving the remaining 40 million? The **Organiser** of Delhi reports:

Mr. Kamath said: "Surely our Nation is spirited enough, strong enough and patriotic enough to overthrow the Congress Government long before even one per cent of that figure are butchered, for lack of adequate defence!"

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Let T. T. K. not forget the forced exit of Krishna Menon last year. T.T.K. would not have made such a remark if he truly loved his country and people.

"My Party is not in favour of foreign air bases which a permanent air umbrella may entail, but surely we must be prepared for such an eventuality in case of a massive land and air attack by China.

"India's freedom and integrity must be defended by all means at all costs. Who will hold an air umbrella over a shamshan or a cemetery?"

"Who will let T.T.K. and his colleagues remain in office when defenceless Indians are slaughtered by the enemy?"

"T.T.K. should study afresh the history of Europe during World War II and learn how various countries united against the German menace," Mr. Kamath concluded.

* * *

CONGRESSMEN REVOLT AGAINST GOVERNMENT

The **Organiser** of Delhi reports:

"For long now, Congressmen have mortgaged their tongues to the Congress Government. Let them now rise in revolt against the rulers, redeem their freedom of speech, and ruthlessly expose their misdoings." Shri S. S. More, M.P., was in a rebellious mood when he gave this above call to Congress workers gathered for a meeting here last week (May 26).

Shankar Rao More's was a still more merciless onslaught. "The problem of rising prices," he warned, 'has become so acute that a continuing failure to tackle it effectively can endanger the law and order situation in the country!'

To Congressmen, More's exhortation was clear. "Rise in revolt, stage huge demonstrations against the Government. Only when the Congress Ministry realises that its base itself is crumbling, will it start thinking of the people."

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IN THIS ISSUE

Page

EDITORIAL :

Only De-Nehruization Will Save India 2

Party And Government 5
By M. A. Venkata Rao

Congress Cart Before The Congress Horse 8
By M. N. Tholal

How They Live In East Berlin 10

DELHI LETTER :

Lohia, The Lion-hearted 11

Book Review 13

The Mind Of The Nation 13

News and Views 13

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NAYA PAISA

Only De-Nehruization Will Save India

THE whole Congress organisation appears to have been visibly shaken by its recent reverses in the Parliamentary by-elections. These elections showed that the Congressmen could no longer invoke the past name and glory of this organisation to their aid in electoral contests against non-Congress candidates of proven merit, integrity and devoted service to the country. The time when Nehru could boast confidently of getting even a Congress lamp-post elected, are gone never to return. It is no longer a secret that the Congress High Command has taken these electoral defeats as a serious challenge to their one-party-rule in the country and have been groping for a way out of this uncomfortable situation. And strangely enough the 'light' has come in this hour of darkness from Kamraj Nadar, the Madras Chief Minister. Pandit Nehru perplexed and flabbergasted as usual has simply jumped at the curious suggestion made by the Madras Chief Minister, not quite known for his intellectual brilliance or creative thinking, that the Ministers at the Centre and in the States should resign their posts and take themselves to the party work in order to revitalise the Congress. Mr. Nehru and of course, Mr. Kamraj Nadar the author of this idea, are reported to have offered to resign immediately when the resolution was passed at the meeting of Congressmen held at Delhi. But as expected, an honourable exception was made of Mr. Nehru since in the view of Congressmen Nehru's continuance as the Prime Minister of India was inevitable for the good both of the Congress and the country. Thus Mr. Nehru got easily an unequivocal, though indirect vote of confidence of his party in his stewardship of the Indian Government. The theatricals did not end there. Mr. Nehru has been further invested with absolute powers to decide the fate of the Ministers at the Centre and at the State level. It will be pertinent to observe here that in this picture nowhere does the electorate to which the Ministers are primarily responsible, figures and finds its due place and position assigned to it in the political life of the nation by the Indian Constitution.

SINISTER IMPLICATIONS

This move of Kamraj Nadar is pregnant with sinister implications and dangerous portents. It seems to have been made in full consultation with Mr. Nehru himself. It is not so innocent and spontaneous as it looks on the surface. The Bombay Weekly Journal "Current" had already hinted at it many weeks ago earlier and had even traced its origin to the evil genius

of Krishna Menon who is reported to be playing a deep-laid game against the non-Menonite Members in the Central Cabinet who were responsible for his exit from it in the wake of Chinese invasion. It is also significant that at this very time when Mr. Nehru is reported to be seriously thinking of a wide reshuffling of his Cabinet, the Russian newspaper, 'Pravda' should boldly come out with a suggestion that Mr. Nehru should appoint more 'Leftists' in the Cabinet to fight the 'reactionary' forces, without evoking any adverse comments from our so-called progressive journals who are ever prompt in protesting against even innocent suggestions coming from U.S.A. for improving the administration of our Government. Moreover, the story is widely current in Delhi that in some influential political quarters of the city, the probability of a peaceful settlement of India-China conflict is being seriously discussed and canvassed. Pandit Nehru's unusually firm and unequivocal tone on the Kashmir question as reflected in his statement before the Parliament, is also construed in some knowledgeable circles, to be an indication that, despite the reported massing of Chinese troops all along the Himalayan border, the Sino-Indian tension has somewhat eased. And above all the Soviet's reported pressure on India to seek a 'political' settlement with Brother China, even when Russia and China are at logger-heads on the ideological front cannot be lightly dismissed by the patriotic elements in this country who do not wish our Government to temporise in the least on the issue of recovering Indian territory lost to China.

It is not altogether improbable therefore that the combined deffect of all these manoeuvrings of Menonites, Moscowites and Nehru's close associates like Kamraj Nadar, will in the end goad Mr. Nehru into having more Leftist friends in his Cabinet, so that his policies of non-alignment even to the extent of opening peace talks with the enemy and of administering stronger doses of Socialism to fan the dying embers of his Five Year Plans, might be put through, without any let or hindrance from his Cabinet Ministers. It is expected that the Kamraj formula will greatly help Mr. Nehru in getting rid of some inconvenient senior Ministers who are as self-sacrificing, capable and patriotic as Mr. Nehru and who therefore could not be summarily relieved of their offices without creating strong reactions in the country and in foreign democratic circles. From the way in which such mock-heroic resolutions, passed previously by the Congress have been dealt with, it might be safely concluded

that this resolution too will remain a dead-letter immediately when on the strength of this resolution, Mr. Nehru has succeeded in ousting the old guard from his Cabinet and letting in through the back-door his leftist friends. If Mr. Nehru were honest in implementing the resolution, he should have been the first to quit his office and set a noble example to other Congress Ministers. The over-all result of this resolution will be that Mr. Nehru will be combining in himself not only the powers of the Prime Minister but also those of the plenipotentiary of the Congress, who could make or mar the fortune of any Congress Minister or legislator. This compares favourably with the dictatorial position held by Mr. Khrushchev in Russia who is both the Premier of the country and the Secretary of the Communist Party.

Mr. Nehru thus seems to be fully poised for playing the role of ONE MAN OVER THE CONGRESS AND THE COUNTRY, of course, in the Indian non-violent style.

WANTED "MORE DEMOCRACY", NOT "MORE SOCIALISM"

In one of his speeches before the Constituent Assembly of India on the aims and objectives, Mr. Nehru talked tall of India being able to improve on Western Democracy. But in practice his peculiar genius has only succeeded in altering Indian democracy as conceived by the Indian Constitution, beyond all recognition, by covering it in the garb of his socialist ideology. It has now happened that all his plans have gone awry and all his foreign policies have been a miserable failure. But unlike the Mahatma, he has no moral courage to own his Himalayan socialist mistakes which have only brought to the country disgraceful military defeats and humiliation and economic disaster and ruination to the teeming millions of India. His **Socialist Raj** has only enriched his own ministers, bureaucrats and licencees and permit-holders. When his countrymen ask for bread he give them huge steel mills and coffee percolators; when the country cries for arms for defending herself, he soothes her by his lullabies of 'Non-alignment' and 'Panchashila'. When his own party-men protest against corruption in high places and the fast deteriorating moral fibre of the Congress, he browbeats them into silence by assuming dictatorial powers through the good offices of his friends like Kamraj Nadar and Krishna Menon and stifles all opposition in his party to his pet theories and fanciful plans. When the patriots in the country point out to him progressive abridgement of democratic rights and liberties under his Socialistic Pattern, he and his neophytes treat them to the music of songs on 'More Socialism' as if successive doses of a narcotic could ever save the life of a dying man.

Thus Nehru's Premiership for all these six-

teen years during which the Constitution was flouted and overruled, has witnessed a deliberate and cruel invasion of the democratic liberties of the people. It had also been a colossal misfortune for the common people. What the country requires at this hour is 'More Democracy' to undo the mischief and havoc wrought by Nehruism run amok and replace Nehru's 'Personality Cult' by democratic collective leadership. But this is impossible of being achieved without a thorough de-Nehruisation of Indian political life. It is high time therefore that all the democratic elements within the Congress and outside of it addressed themselves to this most urgent task of saving Indian democracy from 'Nehru and his Ism.'

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'REALISTIC AND RATIONAL APPROACH' TO KASHMIR PROBLEM

In his statement made in the Parliament on 13th August 1963 regarding the Kashmir problem, Mr. Nehru, while pleading for a realistic and rational solution of this problem, declared that the concessions the Government had made to Pakistan in this matter have now been withdrawn in view of the supercilious attitude of the Pakistan Government towards India not only in regard to Kashmir but also the India-China conflict.

Mr. Nehru now thinks that his offer of

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plebiscite made many years ago could no longer be invoked by Pakistan, firstly because Pakistan has not complied with the preconditions laid down by the U.N.O. resolutions and secondly because both Azad Kashmir and Indian Kashmir have had over all these years independent and separate administrative set-up and economic and industrial development and growth and so religious considerations alone could not determine the future of these regions. If this argument were true, it could with equal force be made applicable to the future unification of Germany and both the Germanys would have to be recognised by the nations of the world as distinct units. One wonders whether Mr. Nehru had Kashmir in mind when he called upon the Western Powers to recognise the East German Government as demanded by the realities of the situation.

The only plausible reason that has been advanced by Mr. Nehru now against disturbing the present status quo in Kashmir seems to be the military one. It must be admitted that Ladakh cannot be defended against the Chinese invasion except through the link of the Kashmir valley. If so, to prove his bonafides to India and to his CENTO Allies, President Ayub Khan would do well to offer Indo-Pak joint defence of Kashmir territory in the event of Chinese attack, on the distinct understanding that a plebiscite will be taken in the Muslim majority Kashmir valley after the Chinese have been finally driven out. If Mr. Nehru and Ayub Khan should make such a realistic and rational approach to the problem, the former ceasing to harp on India's 'secularism' which is wholly unrelated to the Kashmir problem and latter, restraining his lust for grabbing even that part of the Kashmir territory which is indisputably Indian, a sure foundation will have been laid for bringing Indo-Pak relations in perfect harmony and consonance with 'the long-standing ties of geography, history and culture between the two countries' to which Mr. Nehru so eloquently referred in his statement. The flamboyant declaration of Pakistani statesmen that the Kashmir settlement will not affect Pak-China friendship, should be given no more credence and attention than the irresponsible outbursts of some of our Indian leaders like Krishna Menon that Pakistan is a greater enemy of India than even Communist China.

CONGRESS MENACE TO 'FARM, FAMILY AND FREEDOM'

It is hardly possible to write in a restrained tone about the Constitution (17th Amendment) Bill proposed to be moved in the present session of the Parliament. The Swatantra Party resolution has rightly trounced it as an attempt 'to destroy Farm and through it, Family and Freedom in this country,' and has called upon the members of the Parliament and the country to

prevent its passage and to resist it if it should be introduced in the country in the teeth of popular opposition.

It is a fact too well known that the 'Fundamental Right 'to acquire hold and dispose of property' guaranteed by the Constitution has been always looked upon by the Congressmen in power, as an impediment and stumbling block in their path of capturing total power in the countryside. So ever since the dawn of India's freedom, they have been bending all their energies towards curtailing and even destroying this right, by amending the Constitution if necessary, whenever they find that their socialist-oriented 'land-reforms' are successfully challenged in the Courts of Law. For this purpose they got the First and Fourth Amendments to the Constitution passed in the Parliament in 1951 and 1955 respectively. These Amendments extended the scope of the term 'Estate' under Article 31 to 'Zamindari, Inam, and Muafi lands' and enabled the Government to acquire the land of the landholders 'for a public purpose' with meagre compensation as fixed by the Government, which was made non-justiciable in Courts of Law.

The Government have been following what are known among Communist circles as 'Salami' tactics of isolating the different layers of the agriculturist class from one another and in the end eliminating all, one by one. Zamindars, Inamdars and other intermediaries between the Government and the cultivator became the first target of the Congress plan to socialise all agricultural lands. Now comes the turn of 'Ryotwari' peasants to be gradually liquidated under the new 17th amendment bill which seeks to bring even 'ryotwari' lands within the meaning of the term 'Estate'. This will enable the government to destroy the peasantry as a class and reduce it to the position of landless labourers organised in Co-operatives which in reality are no better than 'Communist Collectives' and which, as in China and Russia, will surely make an end of free and proud agricultural homesteads 'by a few paternal acres bound.'

As Vallabhbhai Patel, the great patriot and peasant leader of Bardoli Satyagraha once said, the agriculturist class living in an Indian village, consisting of land-holders, peasants and tenants who mainly live on the land and who are therefore immensely interested in stepping up agricultural production, should be considered to be one and indivisible unit. Let all agriculturists therefore unite forgetting all their internal minor differences and fight this grave menace from the Congress to their hearths and homes and a free way of life.

FOOLHARDY SALAZAR

Dr. Salazar, the dictator of Portugal is still
(Continued on Page 7)

PARTY AND GOVERNMENT

M. A. VENKATA RAO

The Kamaraj Plan that Senior Ministers at the Centre and the Chief Ministers in the States should resign and engage themselves in party organisation work, though endorsed by the A.I.C.C., has lost its chance of success by Mr. Nehru being excluded from its operation. Without Mr. Nehru's quitting his office and setting an example to others in renunciation (tyaga), the Kamaraj proposal sinks to the status of the drama of Hamlet without the Prince of Denmark. Let the people, therefore, awake and throw the party out of power through the Ballot Box.

It is a salutary practice to reflect about, (on Independence Day every year) and to draw the attention of citizens to the deeper issues of politics and national destiny.

The latest move within the Congress party to respond to the grave situation created by the resounding electoral defeats it sustained at Dohad, Amroha, Farrukhabad and Rajkot is that of Kamaraj of Madras. His suggestion that senior Ministers at the Centre and the Chief Ministers in the States should resign and engage themselves in party organisation work has been endorsed by the recent session of the A.I.C.C. held at Delhi. Originally the idea was intended to apply to Nehru as well. And he is reported to have offered to resign in accordance with the proposal. But the Working Committee (as is only to be expected) vetoed the idea and made an exception of him and begged him to continue both as prime minister and as party leader as heretofore! It surrendered full power to him and placed final responsibility in his hands to accept the resignations of Ministers at the Centre and of State Chief Ministers and to appoint new ones in their place and assign senior members of the Party to organisational work in accordance with the Kamaraj Plan.

Thereby the Working Committee deprived the Plan of its major chance of success for without Nehru's example in quitting office the proposal sinks to the status of the drama of Hamlet without the Prince of Denmark! The whole source of the suggestive and purgatorial effect of the Plan is vitiated by the top leader remaining in office, for in Indian tradition, influence is proportionate to renunciation (tyaga). It was the chief rationale of Mahatma Gandhi's unusual, historic influence.

Further, everything depends on the way the new chiefs of the Party's non-official branch set to work among the people.

Moreover, the Plan ignores the changed situation after the advent of independence and the Party's access to power as the ruling group having the coveted right and privilege of forming the Government of the country in place of the departing British.

Today Congressmen appear before the popu-

lace chiefly in the role of dispensers of patronage—jobs, permits, licences, quotas as well as educational opportunities by way of seats in schools and colleges and scholarships and travel grants! The Minister who resigns and becomes a private citizen is shorn of all this power and the aura of prestige derived therefrom naturally departs from him. If he is to retain any part of it, he must be a person of transcendent moral personality recalling the Mahatma or he must manage to retain sufficient influence to the Chief and other ministers and the officialdom to make his recommendations in favour of proteges effective. They may be individuals or villages or communities or his home-town compatriots—potential voters.

He can never get rid of the electoral objective of his work and career! This aspect of his motivation cannot be screened from the shrewd perception of observers, supporters and opponents. Such sizing up of the moral status of the pretenders to moral prestige on the part of the common man is fatal to real influence, flattery and hypocritical offerings of incense notwithstanding. Worship with offerings and flattery or praise of extravagant dimensions is a national trait with us.

The mistake that Kamaraj and the supporters of the Plan are committing is to continue in the climate of sacrifice and artificial tension and values maintained during the national struggle under the auspices of Mahatma Gandhi with his irrational methods consisting of fasts, appeals to sacrifice, surrender of jobs, schools and professions, the fostering of a cult of poverty (as if the whole nation was comprised of sadhus and not householders) and self-immolation of various sorts. Gandhi is a proper subject for psychoanalysis.

But the magic cannot be repeated by others of lesser stature to take in today's disillusioned common people and disappointed educated citizens.

The great need today is to get away from the negative idiom of the days of struggle and to assume the responsibilities of positive democratic government.

The primary responsibility of the leaders in

and out of office has been since they have had no dependence to educate the people in all their ranks for democracy. It remains their primary and inescapable responsibility to spread among the people a sound knowledge of the working of democratic government—the correct rules of party and government, of the correct inter-relation between the civil service and elected office-holders like ministers as well as parliamentary procedure so as to give full play for the expression of opinion from all individuals and groups within the House.

Outside, parliament, The Press, public assembly, platform and discussion club have all to be properly used to inform and guide public opinion. Government should express the General Will or Common Good as arrived at fully and consciously after full discussion in the organs of public debate before it proceeds to legislate on it on various subjects.

It is important for democratic leaders not merely to carry on the administration justly but also to make the people understand the processes of the administration and make them **participate in it**. The Kamaraj Plan is only intended to make the people participate in **party work** or party decision or patronage. But what is needed is to make the people participate fully in the processes of government from the grass-roots. This participation becomes intense for the people at large during election times. But it is more continuous inside the life and activities of parties, in power and in opposition. After the Ministers of government are chosen, party men should keep a continuous eye on their work and keep them on their toes. They may not criticise their leaders publicly but they should do so in party meetings. But in Congress, party-men **grovel before** the ministers for favour and cannot keep them within the limits of law and decency! Ministers get away with rank abuse of official power for lack of principled opposition within and outside.

Groups emerge to dethrone ruling ministries only to displace them in power and with this end in view they prepare lists of irregularities and corrupt deeds misusing office for selfish purposes. But the **charges vanish** as soon as the **complainants are appeased** and given comfortable places either within the cabinet or in the official hierarchy like the Chairmanship of Social Committees and State Trading Commissions which carry fat emoluments. In Rajkot the people expressed disgust with the conduct of Mr Dhebar, ex-Congress President who resigned his seat in Parliament which he had secured from the constituent voters of Rajkot as soon as he got a two thousand rupee job!

A similar office is held in Mysore State by an ex-Congress Minister Mr. Siddaveerappa

whose salary as chairman of the Khadi and Village Industries Board of the State is equivalent to that of a minister! That of Mr Ponnacha, an ex-Minister of Mysore is Rs. four thousand as Chairman of the State Trading Commission of the Union Government!

And if the resigning Ministers are considerably given such incomes out of public funds to facilitate their party work, (as is only too likely,) the Kamaraj Plan will end in derisive smoke and cynical laughter. Of course, they could be accommodated with living expenses on a modest scale **out of party funds**.

But the way in which party funds themselves are being collected has created a deep **revulsion** in the public mind and it will take much indeed, a **new life altogether from the new chiefs** and would be restorers of Congress vitality, to achieve tangible results.

But all this concerns primarily the Congress party, the fortunes of its leaders and beneficiaries. But the people at large are primarily interested in a radical change of policy and a more realistic attitude both in foreign policy and in domestic affairs. Above all, a more **conscientious, honest, economical and efficient government** which gives good value for the public moneys raised and spent. The people do not resent sacrificial demands on their purses by way of emergent high taxation and even the suspension of fundamental rights in view of defence necessities.

But they see with dismay that all the austerity is to be borne **only by them** leaving the Congress party and government leaders free to go (carefree) merrily and extravagantly as ever before! There is no sign of any abatement of the squandermania in government expenditure! The proliferation of the bureaucracy goes on seemingly as luxuriantly as before! The rulers forget that the people are paying taxes with their heart's blood and that there is a limit to their seemingly inexhaustible ocean of patience.

We must realise that today we have in our midst in this country as in most Asian and African countries **two revolutions** going on at the same time. The earlier in time and more complex—indeed comprising all the dimensions of social and cultural life has resulted from the impact of the West on our life. The first stirrings of a creative—reaction to this impact was seen early in the last century with the work of Raja Ram Mohan Roy. Soon and especially after the Sepoy War and the introduction of universities and science instruction we are having simultaneously a renaissance, a reformative, counter-reformation, a revolution in industry and commerce as well as in politics working like a power-

ful yeast in our life. The democratic revolution bore fruit in the Constitution of India passed by her own Constituent Assembly in 1950 which incorporated the ideals of the American and French Revolution enshrining the Rights of Liberty, equality and fraternity and justice for all citizens which were defined in Part Three devoted to Fundamental Rights.

But no sooner the administration got going than the Prime Minister introduced on his own initiative without any discussion worth the name his industrial policy declaration, his Soviet Type Five-Year Plans and his Zamindari Abolition legislation on nominal and ludicrous rates of compensation, which were soon made non-justiciable and removed from the jurisdiction of the Courts. These were blows to democratic rights and diminished the property and other fundamental rights and thus damaged the very foundations of the democratic society of liberty, equality, fraternity and justice contemplated in the Constitution. Fraternity was injured not by enabling the landless peasants and tenants to acquire land cheaply but liquidating zamindari and proposing to liquidate surplus to declared ceilings in ryotwari property, while other ways as in Denmark were open for achieving the same object without class war doctrines.

In these measures fanning class hatred and and in the Marxist centralisation of economic power spelled out in the Five-Year Plans and in various other ways, the Democratic Revolution enshrined in the Western Liberal Constitution is suborned. It is being vitiated by socialist dogmas of the Communist Marxist, Soviet variety.

In foreign policy as well, nominal non-alignment has meant in practice a pro-Soviet attitude aiding and giving comfort to international communism both inside and outside the country. The virus of communism has been allowed to spread and indeed, it is given respectability even in times of war emergency. The CPI leaders are given the status of mediators and policy makers to bring about a reconciliation with the enemy without his leaving our sacred soil!

In addition to corruption and confusion of party and government and a full misuse of official power and influence to perpetuate themselves in power, maladministration, high taxes, ever increasing unemployment, failure on the agricultural front, farcical results of the public sector yielding $\frac{1}{4}$ per cent on Rs. 1400 crores! Unless these grave defects are set right, there is no chance of the Party and Government winning the favour of the people merely by chief ministers becoming whole-time party workers according to the Kamraj Plan.

Let the People awake and throw the Party out through the Ballot Box and give an opportunity to Others.

(Continued from Page 4)

foolhardy enough to ignore the mounting revolt of the Angola Africans against his dictatorial colonial regime. He still fondly hopes, that notwithstanding the disgraceful defeat of his colonial policies in Goa he would be able to stem the onward march of Agolian people towards Liberation, by employing all his military might and strength. The African nations, whatever their internal differences may be, are all agreed on this one aim and objective which is to liberate Africa from foreign domination. This liberation movement has taken, of late, very rapid and giant strides, the latest being a declaration by all African States that they would give all-out assistance to Angolian freedom fighters headed by Mr. Holden Roberto, in arms and ammunitions and military training. Dr. Salazar will therefore be well advised to take quick steps before it is too late, to place Angola on the road to self-government as directed by the U. N. Security Council, if he wants to avoid a violent showdown with the freedom rebels who are determined 'to do or die'. His contention that 'Angola is the creation of Portugal' will meet with the same miserable fate which befell his stupid stand on Goa that 'Goa was a part of Portugal'.

He seems to have learnt nothing from his bitter experience about the way in which Goan Indians treated this baseless assertion of his with the contempt it deserved and liberated themselves from his hated yoke. At least the India Government and Goan Indian waited patiently for a change of heart in Dr. Salazar for more than fifteen years. But Dr. Salazar must understand that African nations and their nationals are no believers in non-violent methods. They will stop at nothing to win their freedom. And when the hour of reckoning comes, Dr. Salazar and his military men will not know even how to escape from the rivers of human blood in which they will be drenched and ultimately drowned by the infuriated Africans. It is, therefore, better for Dr. Salazar to be wise before the event and not after it.

—D. M. Kulkarni

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Congress Cart Before The Congress Horse

By M. N. THOLAL

The Congress Working Committee members plumped for Mr. Kamaraj's proposal with a view to impress the people who have come to regard Congress-men as office-hunters with their self-sacrificing spirit. But the people are not interested in one Congressman being replaced by another. The A.I.C.C. resolution frankly invests Mr. Nehru with dictatorial powers to dethrone those ministers whom he does not like. As is his wont, Mr. Nehru being acutely conscious of the fact that he could be legitimately accused of being a Fascist, has already begun accusing the Opposition groups of Fascist tendencies, as he did at the A.I.C.C. Meeting.

THE AICC resolution on the relinquishment of offices by ministers so that they may "shoulder the responsibilities of the organisation" puts the cart before the horse. The Congress Working Committee was apparently at a loss what to do to arrest the deterioration in the organisation and jumped on the proposal of the Madras Chief Minister, accepted by the Central Home Minister, for relinquishment of offices to strengthen the organisation. The Home Minister, Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri, relinquished his office of Railway Minister some years ago when some railway accidents upset him and devoted himself to Congress work. No one can say that this resulted in strengthening the Congress a bit. It may be said that this was a solo performance and that the same on a large scale will have the desired effect. How?

The resolution says: "While the relinquishment of office by ministers would provide a new atmosphere for the country, this will have to be followed up by a programme of action which will revitalise and strengthen the organisation. Such a programme will have to be fully considered and drawn up." This is obviously putting the cart before the horse. The programme of action to revitalise and strengthen the organisation should have been drawn up first, so that the proper men from among ministers to work the programme could have been selected. As it is, the selection of men to work the programme is to be made before the selectors know or the selector knows what the programme is. Can anything be more absurd?

In an almost identical vein Mr. V. B. Raju (Andhra) said the Working Committee had laid more emphasis on the capacity of the individual than on the efficiency of the programme and that it should have been drawn up first. He might have added that, if the individuals had been as capable as the resolution implies, the Congress would not have come to the pass it has.

The Working Committee members were obviously struck by the dramatic nature of the

proposal of Mr. Kamaraj and plumped for it without giving a thought to its workability and its pros and cons, with a view to impress the people, who have come to regard them as office-hunters, with their self-sacrificing spirit. The people are not interested in one Congressman being replaced by another. They are interested in corruption coming to an end. The Congress resolution does not promise anything of the sort, and only attempts to prove that the Congress ministers are not such a bad lot as the people seem to think.

LOOSELY DRAFTED RESOLUTION

The resolution has been loosely drafted. This shows that the man who drafted it has a confused brain, and that the members of the Working Committee, as well as the AICC, lacked the brains or the courage to amend it properly. Mr. Nehru is credited with the drafting. No wonder the draft was regarded as sacrosanct and no one had the inclination, much less the courage, to suggest even verbal amendments to make it look logical. "The Working Committee," says the resolution, "generally welcomes the proposal" (regarding Congressmen in Government voluntarily relinquishing their ministerial posts and offering themselves for full-time organisational work) "and decides to take action along these lines". What action can the Working Committee take "along these lines"? What the draft of the resolution apparently wanted to say was that the Working Committee generally welcomed and approved the proposal, because it is for the ministers and not the Working Committee "to take action along these lines".

In the end the resolution says, "The Working Committee decided to take early steps to implement the above proposal". There is no proposal above, but a decision that relinquishment of offices by ministers will have to be followed up by a programme of action which will

(Continued on Page 9)

revitalise and strengthen the organisation. "Such a programme," the resolution says, "will have to be fully considered and drawn up." What the Working Committee obviously decided was "to take early steps to that end" and not "to implement the above (non-existent) proposal". Mr. Nehru has always had a confused mind except where his own interests were concerned, but now it seems to be a case of confusion worse confounded. All this reveals the rotten state of the Congress organisation, for the Congress leaders in the AICC either had not the courage to cross the i's and dot the t's or were unable to see where that was needed.

FULSOME FLATTERY

Seconding the resolution Mr. S. K. Patil described Mr. Nehru as "the leader of leaders", implying thereby that in the Congress organisation leaders need a leader—a wonderful type of leaders indeed! If continued use of power by Congress for 16 years had not caused havoc in the country, he said, it was so because Mr. Nehru was at the helm of affairs. What else is the "historic" resolution intended to remedy, if not havoc? "Our enjoyment of power for such a long time has not led to devastation," Mr. Patil proceeded to observe, and added: "This is because we have many breaks, the most effective and powerful of them is the stewardship of Mr. Nehru. To us he is not only a prime minister. He is one of the founding fathers and prime architects of our freedom....Mr. Nehru, along with Mahatma Gandhi, has provided to the nation light....He is the only man who has imparted integrity to the administration." What a tribute in this last sentence to the Congress and Congressmen! What a confession of corruption among Congressmen from top to bottom!

Mr. U. N. Dhebar, whose loyalty to Mr. Nehru and the Congress is self-proclaimed, could not lag behind. He said some men were a creation of history but "Mr. Nehru was a symbol of India's history and it is a matter of great pride for the Congress and the country that there is one man on whose mere asking people are prepared to sacrifice even their lives". It is rather anomalous that people who are prepared to sacrifice their lives on his mere asking them to do so, should not be prepared to sacrifice here. Symbol means "a sign by which one knows a thing". Perhaps what Mr. Dhebar meant was that Mr. Nehru symbolised India's history—having regard to Mr. Nehru's scant regard for the country's security and the country's unparalleled slavery of a thousand years.

Perhaps the best speech of the session was that of Mr. Mahavir Tyagi who said the resolution was no remedy for the ailment of the Congress. He said people would accuse Mr. Nehru

of not building up the second line of leadership and appealed to him and others to take a revolutionary step and bring about a collective leadership. But how can there be collective leadership when even half-hearted critics like him say: "There may be controversies and whisperings on his decisions. It is therefore essential that, while entrusting him with such a task, we must also decide not to question his decision and not to vote for those who do so." Why not have a clause in the Congress constitution declaring all votes against Mr. Nehru to be *ultra vires* of the constitution? That would solve all difficulties, for that is the solution every historic and epoch-making session of the AICC is obviously leading the Congress to.

In other words, Mr. Tyagi accused Mr. Nehru of dictatorship. The AICC resolution frankly invests Mr. Nehru with dictatorial powers. He can now unseat any minister or Chief Minister and exercise his discretion to dethrone those whom he does not like. Mr. Nehru could not but be conscious of this and, as is his wont whenever he feels he can be legitimately accused of something, he at once began accusing his opponents of it. So he said rather irrelevantly in the course of his speech; "The ways in which some of the Opposition groups function bring to me memories of Fascism and Nazism, which have reared their heads in the past decades." Why, Mr. Nehru, what else were Fascism and Nazism doing but rearing their heads and sticking out their tongues during this session of the AICC at which he was present? Perhaps his conscience pricked him and he got so confused again as to observe: "I don't mean to say there are such trends in this country, but the tendencies are so remarkably similar". Being an anti-fascist and a democrat, Mr. Nehru could not but deplore and be upset by the non-existent trends and the existing tendencies towards Fascism, and he had to confess: "It is rather an upsetting feature. We have to face all these with calmness." The poor dethroned ministers will at least have to bear their dethronement with calmness and try not to feel frustrated. For how long?

THE LIBERTARIAN SOCIAL INSTITUTE, BANGALORE

19th July, 1963: Shri D. N. Subba Rao delivered a lecture on 'Socrates as a Rationalist'. Prof. M. A. Venkatrao presided.

How They Live In East Berlin

AROUND East Berlin runs a grey wall, built of rough stones, re-inforced with barbed wire and tank traps and guarded by soldiers from the Soviet-Zone army. The Berliners on both sides of the border call it "Ulbricht's Wall".

Until the wall was built the people who are now living behind it in East Berlin were, understandably, the envy of all the other Germans living in the Soviet Zone. There was an obvious advantage in staying in this town. Many tried to move there, but only one in ten thousand was given permission to take up residence even if it was only for a short period.

The East-Berliners were the lucky ones among the people in the Soviet Zone. They alone had the rare chance to travel out of the zonal misery into another world for a four-penny ticket; to read any particular newspaper which was forbidden in the Zone; to see a film or play not permitted in the Soviet Zone; to read a book which was on the black list there; to buy some butter, a pair of shoes, medicine, or the necessary spare part for a machine which had been forgotten by the economic planners in the East.

There were a hundred cinemas for the East-Berliners along the western side of the sector border; there, they could also buy a ticket paid for in East Marks. And one Mark of their money was reckoned as the equivalent of one West Mark. They could use West Berlin trams and buses under the same conditions. They could order West Berlin or Federal German newspapers at reduced rates. There were entire shopping areas in which the tradesmen specialized in meeting the needs of East-Berliners. The Mark was treated as valid currency.

A Double Life

The inhabitant of East Berlin led a strange double life. He resided and worked in the Soviet sector, but he lived in the western sectors. For him the town did not end at the sector border.

But soon the Communists judged the atmosphere in East Berlin very realistically. They surrounded the East-Berliners with tanks, built a barbed wire barrier around them, and flooded the streets with soldiers. The extent of the Soviet defeat in East Berlin can be judged by the speed with which they worked and by the enormous military strength that was brought in to the field.

A taxi-driver in East Berlin reports the following story: One of his colleagues had long had a reputation as an "unstable element". But he was a good driver and was left alone. A few days after 13th August, 1961, he was provoked by a party official. The driver, who was already upset by the building of the Wall, expressed what all Berliners thought, namely, that the

Wall was an inhuman business, and a confession of political bankruptcy. Today he is no longer a taxi-driver, but a manual worker. "Socialist education" is what the party officials call it.

Lonely and Lost

The people of East Berlin now feel lonely and lost. "We lived all through these years in a world of illusions", says a woman who works in an East-Berlin publishing house. "We did not see the dirt and misery here as clearly as we should have done, because the light over there in West Berlin was brighter. But now it is being brought home to us: dismissals, cuts in salaries, arrests. The Socialist educational process is being forced along at a hot pace. We buckle under and are ashamed of it at the same time. But who wants to run against a wall if it means death?"

—German News

Permit-Licence-Yug

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

THE development policies of the Congress Government develop and establish corruption in the economic life of the country. The regime of permits and licences and quotas displacing fair and free competition sets persons engaged in industry against one another in a competitive exercise of unhealthy practices. This corruption has robbed a cadre of civil servants of its established standards. A service which was one justly famed for efficiency and integrity has now almost become notorious in the opposite direction. Members elected to make laws in the various legislative bodies have many of them settled down to a subsidiary occupation as agents to secure favours for big and small people engaged in the business of making money under a 'socialist' government.

What prevailed during the centuries before the period when ordered British administration came to be stabilized, has now again become the climate of life in India. But in those days the greater part of citizens' activities was independent of government and its operations, whereas nothing can now be done without the cooperation and permission of government officials. Even a cottage cannot be built, or a petty retail shop start some small business without hunting for and securing several things from Government. The tax-gatherers are everywhere. "Oh! do you not agree to pay to the Defence Fund? Very well, let me see how you escape; show your accounts," says the sales-tax petty official who is responsible to his superior officer to show a certain quota of collections to the Defence Fund or other such fund. The courage or impertinence of the petty shop-keeper oozes out on this threat. There are a hundred forms in which this wretched drama is played.

LOHIA, THE LION-HEARTED

(From Our Correspondent)

As was expected Prime Minister Nehru told the Lok Sabha on August 16 that there was no intention to publish the NEFA inquiry report as it would be harmful to the country's future military preparations. That, he said, was the view of the Army authorities and the Defence Minister. As Mr. Frank Anthony said, certain parts of the report might impinge on our defence preparedness. But how can the publication of the report minus those parts prove harmful to the country's military preparations? By refusing to publish the report the Prime Minister is only strengthening reports in the Capital to the effect that the Army reverses in NEFA were due to direct political interference from the Ministry. Mr. Anthony went so far as to say that the troops had been ordered not to fire more than 50 rounds and that during the actual operations the Generals had been "hamstrung" by the then Defence Minister and they were not allowed to implement their decisions.

Mr. Nehru, however, categorically said these allegations were completely baseless. But how can they be completely baseless, it is being asked here, when long before the Chinese invasion began last October, reports had been appearing in the Press to the effect that Mr. Menon, the then Defence Minister, had told the Army Chief of Staff that the country's enemy was on the East and West and not on the North?

Dr. Lohia categorically stated that the Defence Minister had sent a circular to Army Commanders in NEFA during the Chinese invasion in October to withdraw from areas in imminent danger of being attacked by the Chinese and that Bomdi La was evacuated without a single shot being fired. This, he said, was due to the psychological fear caused by the circular. At this stage the Prime Minister asked the Deputy Speaker, who was in the chair, whether he was expected to answer all these questions and whether it was not an extension of the question hour. This is indeed, amazing. Here is a leader giving out the contents of a secret circular from the Defence Ministry which, if true, amounts to collusion at the highest level with the invaders, and here is our Prime Minister wanting to know from the Presiding Officer whether he was expected to answer all these questions! What else does he think he is there for?

On this question from Mr. Nehru to the Deputy Speaker Dr. Lohia shouted at Mr. Nehru :

"You are a servant and Parliament is your master. All these issues can be raised." The Prime Minister did not deny the relationship to Parliament ascribed to him by Dr. Lohia. (Could any Prime Minister in a democratic country do that openly?) But a Congress M. P., Mr. Bhagwat Jha Azad, took exception to Dr. Lohia's remark and was heard shouting at Dr. Lohia that he was a "chaprasi" who had come there. Dr. Lohia retorted by saying, "Mr. Nehru has collected many servants like you to support him". Mr. Nehru then stood up and told the Deputy Speaker that Dr. Lohia (not Mr. Bhagwat Jha Azad) was getting out of self-control. He was a new member, Mr. Nehru added, and did not know the rules and he should be taught the rules of procedure to maintain decorum. But what about Mr. Bhagwat Jha Azad who is not a new member and who is expected to know the rules? Mr. Nehru is leader of the House as well as the Congress Party and had apparently nothing to suggest for Mr. Azad. Is that because Mr. Azad is a Congressman and was at the moment supporting Mr. Nehru, although Dr. Lohia had said nothing to which legitimate exception could be taken? Surely, in matters of maintaining decorum, Mr. Nehru should rise above party considerations and not turn the Nelson's blind eye towards his followers, one of whom had clearly said something about Dr. Lohia which he should not have done.

Dr. Lohia is being warmly applauded here for pointing out a fact to the Prime Minister which he is apt to forget in his dictatorial frame of mind. He has been trying to hide everything that really matters. He even kept the invasion of India by China a closely-guarded secret for years. This is hardly a convincing proof of his mastery of the rules of procedure which he wants Dr. Lohia to learn, or of his knowledge of the supremacy of Parliament. In fact the real quarrel between the Prime Minister and the Opposition may be said to be over the supremacy of Parliament which Mr. Nehru has been denying in practice. Dr. Lohia in his own inimitable fashion put his finger on the ailing spot in the Prime Minister's constitution, but for which, indeed, the country would not have come to its present pass. Had Mr. Nehru regarded himself as a servant of the country and its Parliament, and disclosed the Chinese invasion when it really started some years ago, the country would have known the real nature of his policy of non-alignment and perhaps even summed it up in six words—"Flattering the bully and the

aggressor"—than which there can be nothing more foolish or unpatriotic.

Dr. Lohia has indirectly shown what the Opposition in Parliament has been lacking so far—contempt for the Treasury benches. And why has the Opposition been lacking in that essential when its leaders have been leaving no stone unturned to prove that the ruling party and its leaders are far from patriotic? Because the leaders of the Opposition are goody-goody folk and suffer from that common malady, inferiority complex, which enables Mr. Nehru to retain the initiative in attack and ridicule the leaders of the Opposition even when he himself is entirely in the wrong and when his policies have proved disastrous for the country.

The fact of the matter would appear to be that even a partial admirer of Mr. Nehru cannot be a good and successful leader of the Opposition. In order to be a brilliant leader of the Opposition he must have contempt—the obverse of strength of conviction—for the leader of the Treasury Benches. Mr. Lohia, the lion-hearted, has a great opportunity before him and all well-wishers of democracy will wish him a glorious parliamentary career. Fortunately for him, he has entered Parliament when Mr. Nehru's stock is at its lowest ebb, and which would have been much lower had the leaders of the Opposition justified their existence as much as they should have done in the interest of the country. As matters stand they have been sleeping over the greatest disaster that it was in the power of Mr. Nehru to bring about as Prime Minister. This can only be said to be due to their ignorance of the role of the Opposition in democracy and the hypnotism that Mr. Nehru exercises even over his opponents.

INDEPENDENCE DAY EXHORTATION

In his Independence Day exhortation delivered from the ramparts of the Red Fort, Mr. Nehru appealed for unity and discipline and a cheerful sharing of the burden in guarding the country's freedom against the existing external threat. As usual Mr. Nehru said many things which could more appropriately come from the mouths of the leaders of the Opposition, things of which his Government cannot by any means be said to have been mindful in the recent past things upon which his policies cannot be said to have been based. "Any country which is free and which wishes to remain free considers the defence of the country above everything," he said, adding: "All citizens of India have to be of one mind in this matter and, if they are, they have to realise that they have to march together and work together. They should place national unity above everything else." Again and again he rightly emphasised the need of living together, marching together and working together. But does not the implementation of this gospel in this national emergency require a national government? Is not that the first step in the

direction of living together and working together and marching together? What is one to say of a Prime Minister who does not realise this elementary need stemming from his own exhortation day after day? How, people ask, can this exhortation be regarded as sincere without any effort on his part to form a national government, having regard particularly to the fact that his policies have proved a total failure? There is obviously no place for collective leadership in Mr. Nehru's ideas of working together and marching together. Equally obviously, there is no realisation on his part of putting first things first and forgetting minor differences in the face of the threat to the country's freedom and integrity.

CONGRESS STRATAGEM

The decision of the All-India Congress Committee empowering Mr. Nehru to pick and choose ministers for Congress organisational work has many pitfalls, which are obvious to those who know his predilections. The impressive stratagem of all Congress ministers placing their resignations in his hands and some of them being chosen to do Congress work by him is as likely to result in the long run in the deterioration of the Congress organisation as in strengthening it. Frustration will not take long in rearing its head in an organisation where a man is a nobody unless he is a minister. Indeed, things there have come to such a pass that even a man who is a minister wants to be something higher and cannot see why he should not be a Chief Minister. The selection by Mr. Nehru of Mr. Ajit Prasad Jain as President of the UPCC proved beyond all doubt the faulty nature of Mr. Nehru's selection of men for high posts. There is no ground for the assumption that Mr. Nehru will suddenly change his criteria for selection of men for important posts or that he will be able to induce a spirit of sacrifice and selflessness in a group of men whose distinguishing feature since independence has been hankering after power and more power and yet more power, the highest example of which has been furnished by Mr. Nehru himself.

The Congress today is rotten to the core, mainly because of Mr. Nehru's favouritism and his scant regard for ability and integrity. Being an emotional man this favouritism is part of his character, and it produces resentment and rebellion rather than a spirit of working together and marching together. The results of the AICC resolution will therefore be watched with amusement in the country and he will indeed be a bold man who can forecast that the Congress will be the stronger for it. Ambition is made of sterner stuff and pious resolutions cannot hold it in check for long particularly when there is little justice in the implementation of those resolutions. Surely, Mr. Nehru knows that the successful leadership of his father was mainly due to the latter's selection of the right

man for the right job, based not on flattery but on the man's qualifications. ^{Digitized by eGangotri Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri} Where there is peace in the human heart. And how can there be peace with favouritism riding roughshod over Congress land?

Book Review

REFLECTIONS ON GOVERNMENT: BY SIR ERNEST BARKER Formerly Fellow of Merton College, Oxford and of Peterhouse, Cambridge. Published by The Oxford University press. First printed in 1942 and reprinted in revised form five times since then. Pages 424. Price 30s. net in UK.

This is a work of ripe social and political wisdom based on wide scholarship both of the ancient world of Greece and Rome and of the modern era of democratic revolutions. It displays a rare combination of the humanist idealism of old Oxford and of the scientific temper of new Cambridge.

The book was written just before the outbreak of the war of 1938-45 but Dr. Barker postponed publication to see if any modification of view was called for the armageddon. He finally decided that it did not and issued the book in 1942 in the critical period of the war with Hitler.

The book is a thought-laden thesis on modern democracy and the challenge posed to it as a faith and a working method of governance by Nazism, Fascism and Communism. The first part sketches the mind and face of democracy and the structure of civil and political liberty, for the defence of which it has been won through the struggle of centuries. He then delineates the internal and external dangers confronting democracy today the eruption of the romantic and charismatic Leader of racial, national or class groups and the dangerous use or misuse of mass media of communication by dictators to control the public mind and public emotions. The vogue of mechanisation is also, says Dr. Barker, a new danger which, in the hands of scientific Marxism (falsely so-called) ends up in making a machine of society itself to which the individual citizen is sacrificed, even as fascism and Nazism sacrifice him in the name of race and nation.

Dr. Barker gives an acute and very full analysis of the contemporary tendencies operating in every country science and mechanisation, expanding population in urban centres, speed of literacy and the industrial worker-classes (homogeneous in outlook) and liable to be swayed by mass leaders.

He indicates clearly how democracy can stand up to these forces of disintegration by a deeper use of reason and experience and a wider and more sensitive humanitarianism in the spirit of fraternity, equality and liberty, the two for-

mer developed without prejudice to liberty but preserving it as the spirit and medium of individual life. Here we find a deep and wise thinker grappling with the problems of the age in social and political fields without glossing them over and suggesting the broader point of view from which the resulting crises could be resolved and opposites reconciled and the spirit of democracy retained as the permanent framework of social and political life for civilised man.

M. A. Venkata Rao

The Mind of the Nation

STALINISM STILL REMAINS

Stalin is dead; but the system that made possible the horrors of Stalinism, remains. This point was likely to be blurred, in the atmosphere of relief, if not of jubilation, created by the Testban Agreement and the rending apart of what was regarded as the monolithic structure of the International communist movement by the obstinate, arrogant, national chauvinism and imperial ambitions of China.

It is, therefore, good to find Mr. Averill Harriman, who negotiated the test-ban agreement, stating clearly that apart from their common interest in avoiding a nuclear war, American and Russian objectives were "irreconcilable". He said at Washington on August 1: "I find no difference in Khrushchev from Stalin in terms of determination to communise the world."

The same day the Vatican was taking up a similar stand. The Vatican's views are of particular importance because of the active role played by the late Pope John in the worldwide efforts to end the threat of a nuclear holocaust hanging over mankind.

The atomic menace was real. In the 19 years since the first explosion of an atomic device, the world has seen over 400 tests which amounted to a megaton yield of 535 — or 535,000,000 tons of TNT equivalent. As the earth's atmosphere has no political barriers, further tests represented a menace as much to Russians as to anyone else. Russian willingness to sign the test-ban agreement sprang out of the fear of their own destruction, than out of any moral revulsion against killing.

—PANDIT G. IN 'CURRENT'

News & Views

U.S. NUCLEAR POWER IS 'SUPERIOR TO RUSSIA'S'

Washington: U.S. Secretary of Defence Robert K. McNamara told a joint meeting of Congressional committee that the tripartite nuclear test-ban treaty between the United States, the Soviet Union and Britain was "not risk-free."

"I do not pretend that this or any other agreement between great contending Powers can be risk-free," Mr. McNamara said as he appeared before a joint session of the Senate Foreign Relations and Armed Forces Committees and the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy.

However, Mr. McNamara, who was testifying in support of the ratification of the treaty, said: "I am convinced that even undetected, clandestine tests will not alter the basic military balance."

"The United States has nuclear superiority. We are determined to maintain that superiority," he said adding U.S. to that end had "tens of thousands" of nuclear warheads.

BOKARO MUST GO AHEAD, WARNS GALBRAITH

NEW YORK: Prof. J. K. GALBRAITH, former United States Ambassador to India, has warned that any refusal of American aid to India on the issue of Government ownership of industry could permanently damage the relations between the two countries and jeopardise the future of Indian private enterprise.

Prof. Galbraith was testifying before the House Appropriations Sub-Committee presently holding secret sessions.

Prof. Galbraith said it was a myth to say that India had enough private capital to finance the Bokaro plant in the private sector.

Prof. Galbraith said that the existence of private capital in India, West Germany and the United States for financing the steel plant was a myth and even if available it would be too costly for India.

Prof. Galbraith also expressed the view that if the United States did not help India it was unlikely that the plant could be set up unless Russia came forward with help. But he doubted such a development.

RADAR EQUIPMENT STARTS ARRIVING

NEW DELHI: American radar and related equipment has begun arriving in India by special airlift in preparation for joint air defence training exercises to be conducted by the Indian, the United States, the United Kingdom and Australian Air Force units.

In a special airlift, giant cargo planes of the U.S. military air transport service, based in Hawaii, California and the north-east state of Washington, have hauled more than 120 tons of equipment for the first mobile radar installation.

They flew more than half way around the world from a depot in south-eastern U.S. The airlift was similar to the special transport organised last November to fly initial American aid to Calcutta within days of the Chinese attack on India.

This initial airlift of equipment is for one of the mobile units being burnished by the U.S. as part of the joint air exercises for the training of Indian Air Force technicians in modern radar operations.

American Air Force specialists for installing, siting, operating and training have already arrived in India. Additional radar equipment and technicians will follow.

According to an official press release, the first installation is expected to be in place and ready for joint training and practice in a matter of days.

The equipment came in two C-130 Hercules turbo-prop aircraft, similar to those that have been operating on the air lift to Ladakh, three C-124 triple-deck Globemaster transports and two turbo-prop C-133 Cargomasters, the latest and largest American transport aircraft.

Technical discussions on 'operation shiksha' were held recently in New Delhi between experts of the Indian Air Force and their counterparts from the U.S. and the U.K.

NASSER USES POISON GAS AGAINST YEMENI VILLAGES

Daily Telegraph Special Correspondent reports from

Jeddah: An International Red Cross medical team from Jeddah on its way to the Yemen. The Saudi Arabian Government has passed the Yemeni Royalist complaint to the Red Cross that the Egyptian Air Force is using poison gas against Yemeni villages.

Dr. Beretta, the International Red Cross representative in Jeddah, was receiving reports of gas warfare over a month ago but had no means of checking. The staff of the hospital in the Saudi Arabian town of Abha, near the Yemeni border, has appealed to the Government to provide them with gas masks.

Abha was the recent target of an Egyptian air raid. The Yemenis in the north are not only desperately in need of attention for gas victims but also for medical treatment for hundreds of people suffering from Egyptian bombing and strating raids.

They do not possess a single qualified doctor in the area. The few medical supplies that they have are now almost exhausted.

When I told the Military Governor of the Jizan Province of Saudi Arabia near the Yemeni border of the suffering of the gas victims in Al Kawma village, he said he would appeal to the Saudi Government to relax the embargo on supplies to the Royalists.

This would enable the despatch of medicines to relieve the suffering of the gas victims. Seven people in the village have already died and 25 are suffering from severe effects of the gas attack.

CHINA CLAIMS CHUNKS OF HIMACHAL PRADESH!

SIMLA: Communist China has claimed several thousand square miles of Himachal Pradesh as part of their territory in Tibet, according to their latest maps.

They have demanded the whole of Kinnair district and half of Mahasu district upto Narkanda, 40 miles from Simla. Narkanda is 8500-9000 feet above sea level.

The people of Himachal Pradesh, instead of being shocked by this latest Chinese tactic, are organising themselves, with determination to fight the enemy.

The CPI in Himachal Pradesh strategically supports the Russian line of action, supposed to be a safe line for functioning overground.

Thousands of Tibetans and several Chinese are spread out upto the inner border of Himachal Pradesh. Hundreds of children attend the three Tibetan schools in Himachal Pradesh. Some of these schools are aided by the West and Western teachers, nurses and administrators are also present.

SWATANTNA WARNING: LAND LAW WILL BE RESISTED

AHMEDABAD,

Gujarat's Swatantra Party has warned the Government that the proposed 17th Amendment to the Constitution, regarding land reforms, will face resistance in every farm and village.

The warning was conveyed by telegrams to the President, the Prime Minister and the Speaker of the Lok Sabha by Mr. Bhailalbhai Patel, president of Gujarat Swatantra Party and leader of the Opposition in Gujarat Assembly.

The telegram compared the 17th amendment to Section 31-A of the Indian Constitution with the "Rowlatt Act" of the British regime and was dubbed as a device to turn farmers into slaves.

The Swatantra leader reminded the ruling party that it was playing false to the peasant masses, who voted the party of power.

The Gujarat Swatantra Party challenged the Congress to fight a fresh election on this specific issues and threatened that the party would oppose the measure with all its power in every village in the same way as the "Rowlat Act" was opposed by Mahatma Gandhi.

The proposed amendment denied to the peasants their natural rights of farm land and also their right to seek justice on the same from judicial courts, the Swatantra Party said.

It urged the Union Government to see that the national crisis was not exploited for "acts of confiscation of justice."

ORISSA GOVERNMENT'S 'KALINGA INDUSTRIES' SCANDAL

NEW DELHI : Ready to blow up in a big way in New Delhi is a report said to have been prepared by an M.P. on the patronage given by the Orisa Government to Kalinka Industries Limited Kalinga Industries Ltd., is a private concern.

Mr. Bijoyanand Patnaik, now Chief Minister of Orissa, was a controlling shareholder in Kalinga Industries. He was also its Managing Director.

After assumption of office as Chief Minister in Orisa Mr. Patnaik handed over the Managing Directorship to his wife.

Kalinga Industries is the agent of Kalinga Tubes Ltd. (of which Mrs. Patnaik is also Managing Director) for tubular structures. Another concern, known as Orisa Agents, belonging to Mrs. Biren Mitra, wife of the Deputy Minister of Orisa, is the agent of Kalinga Tubes Ltd. for tubes, and the agent of Kalinga Industries Ltd. for tubular trosses.

Therefore, the entire interest in these various concerns is interlinked between Mrs. Patnaik and Mrs. Mitra, or in other words, between the wife of the Chief Minister of Orissa and the wife of the Deputy Chief Minister of Orisa. The commission for the tubes of Kalinga Industries is shared by Orissa Agents, which is proved from the letter of Orissa Agents dated February 27, 1961, informing different departments of Government that it (Orissa Agents) is the agent for Kalinga Industries. The letter requests these departments to let it know on which date the payment for supplies to Kalinga Industries is made to them by Governments so that, apparently, Orissa Agents can get their commission on these goods supplied.

REDS' SUBTLE WAY OF HELPING CHINA

NEW DELHI : According to intelligence sources, there is a distinct possibility of the Communist Party of India against high price, the Compulsory Deposit Scheme and the taxation proposal synchronising with a fresh Chinese attack.

The Pro-Chinese Wing of the CPI is believed to be in close correspondence with its counterparts in China and is understood to have given an assurance to Chinese Communists that in their second invasion they would muster 50,000 strong on the border to welcome the "Chinese liberation forces."

According to reports reaching here, CPI workers are spreading dissatisfaction against the local authorities.

KAMRAJ PLAN'S 'THEATRICALITY'

New Delhi : Mr C.Rajagopalachari, addressing a crowded

meeting at Samy House said the Kamaraj proposals for curing the ills which beset the Congress were nothing but "theatricality."

Ministers who went to work for the party would continue to wield as much influence as before.

He condemned the idea of sending "red hot Ministers" to run the party which now suffered from an incurable disease. The project was no better than "a secretary getting a job with a commercial firm." Mr Rajagopalachari said.

There was much laughter when he said the possibility of Ministers returning to the Government after a spell of party work was analogous to that of a sanyasi remarrying.

Mr Rajagopalachari characterized the Kamaraj plan as a conspiracy to save the party from disintegration. The root cause of the decay was the too much power acquired by the Government.

There was no reason why a party which conducted election campaigns as the Congress did should be allowed to rule, he said. It won elections not because it was popular but because it used the influence of the Government. The Congress was a party of careerists, Ministers and those who wanted to become Ministers, and those who sought licences, he said.

HALF OUR FOOD ADULTERATED

Adulteration of different foodstuffs in the country varies from 15 to 51 per cent according to an official report.

The report says that 1,46,233 samples were analysed in 1961 out of which 42,960 about 30 per cent were found to be adulterated. In 1960, out of 1,22,119 samples analysed, 37,837 were found to be adulterated.

PAKISTAN'S ECONOMIC PROGRESS

According to a recent Reuter's from Karachi published in the Christian Science Monitor.

"Pakistan's income this year is rising faster than the birth rate, according to government statistics.

It was encouraging news for a nation of 100 million people in which the soaring birth rate is a major economic problem. Until 1963, the birth rate had outdistanced the rate of average income increases.

The income increase has lifted some people on the edge of poverty to middle-class status. In fact, these people now complain they cannot hire servants at reasonable salaries.

But poverty has been a major problem through Pakistan's 16 years of existence. The fact that some people now are able to have servants does not mean that suddenly all is well in this "have-not" country.

However, Pakistan is making economic headway despite continuing poverty, overpopulation, weak industry, backward agriculture, and a literacy figure of only 18 percent.

Foreign aid, largely from the United States, and in 1962-63 running at about \$1,216,000 a day, has been pumped into irrigation, power, communications, industrial, fisheries, and other development projects for several years.

National income increased by 11.4 percent in the first two years of the Second Five-year Plan, which began in 1960.

Government statistics show that per-capita income increased 3.7 percent in 1960-61 and three percent in 1961-62, to a current level of 340 rupees (about \$61.50) a year.

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IN THIS ISSUE

EDITORIAL:

Page

Nehru's 'Non-alignment' Means Appeasement
Of The Enemy 2

Realisation Of Opinion 5
By M. A. Venkata Rao

Biting The Hand That Protects 7
By M. N. Tholal

Free Enterprise Economy Not For The Lazy 9
By Ludwig Erhard

DELHI LETTER: 10
Menon Outlines Foreign Policy Results

"Big Red" Makes A Choice 12
By William E. Howell

Book Review 13
The Mind Of The Nation

News and Views 14
Dear Editor

15



Nehru's 'Non-alignment' Means Appeasement Of The Enemy

MR. NEHRU is now-a-days hard put to it, to justify the foreign and domestic policies of his Government. Some days back, his Government had to face a no-confidence motion against it in the Parliament, which to judge from the tenor of the Opposition speeches, was a virtual expression of sad disillusionment on the part of a powerful section of public opinion, regarding Mr. Nehru's leadership of the country. This was followed by a debate on the Foreign Policy of his Government. The Opposition members made a nice mincemeat of it and thoroughly exposed the hollow claims of Mr. Nehru that his non-alignment policy had wonderfully succeeded and every good turn the international politics have taken in the last few months such as Test Ban Treaty and the ideological and political rift between Russia and China, are all the direct or indirect results of his policies. Mr. Nehru also claimed during the debate, that his nonalignment policy was 'a continuation of our thinking in the past, a projection of our national character and a projection of our struggle for independence adapted to the changing conditions.'

THE AGE-OLD MALADY OF INDIA

We do not know what induces in Mr. Nehru the belief that his Foreign Policy is 'a continuation of our thinking in the past.' If he is referring to the policies of the Congress during the Gandhian era in which Mr. Nehru himself played no mean part in formulating them, he is partly right. For all those policies were based on anti-British feelings and prejudices against imperialist powers more or less borrowed from Lenin's writings, and Mr. Nehru is continuing the same policies, though they have become outdated in the post-war period. But when Mr. Nehru attempts to derive his present policies from the creed of Gandhiji's non-violence, he is being unfair to the Congress. For, the Congress as a political body had never accepted even during Gandhiji's life-time, non-violence as a creed. It was accepted as the policy that was inevitable, because the Britishers were strong enough to put down within a short time, any violently directed nationalist movement, as they did in the case of the subversive movement of 1942 led by Jayaprakash Narayan and his socialist colleagues, with the tacit approval of the Congress. Therefore to justify his nonalignment policy which is almost raised to the position of a dogmatic creed, and the peace-mongering postures adopted by him at the cost of India's territorial integrity and her national self-respect, Mr. Nehru will have to delve into the period of Indian history extending from the 11th century to the 19th century, which is a long and wearisome tale of un-

happy and disunited India, lost in Vedantic metaphysical thought, and indifferent to her immediate material interests, falling an easy prey to foreign hordes invading India through the Khyber and Bolan Passes. And now the weak-kneed policies of Mr. Nehru conceived in fine metaphysical political terms, little understood by the World, have emboldened the Red hordes to invade India through NEFA and Ladakh Passes in the Northern Himalayan region. Mr. Nehru is only enacting the same age-old political tragedy on the modern Indian political stage in the middle of the twentieth century.

'EASILY GOT, EASILY LOST'

Coming to his next contention that his policy is 'a projection of our national character', we have no hesitation in entirely agreeing with him at least on the issue. As said above, India's history exposes our national character as being timid, cowardly and weak in face of emergency created by any foreign invasion. Gandhian and Nehruvian leadership has failed to remedy this defect in our national character but on the contrary has even strengthened it. Flirting with the enemy and fighting with the friend has been the main feature of our national character. China invaded India last October and India was unfortunately found then to be weak and disorganised, politically and militarily and unequal to the urgent task devolving on her, of driving the invaders out of the Indian soil. Nor would India's leaders, always fearful of world opinion, but ever contemptuous of Indian opinion, seek the help of our foreign allies to defend India against the invader. As a result, the nation is lying today prostrate, tired and helpless as ever, at the feet of an inept Government which is conceding one point after another to the Chinese aggressor. The much flaunted Colombo proposals are a disgrace to our national prestige and manhood. They only reflect Mr. Nehru's naive and pious hopes that China will some day agree to a just and honourable negotiated peace under the pressure of the Colombo Powers and particularly the pressure of Nehru's newly found friend and ally Mr. Khrushchev. In the meanwhile, India is being isolated from her neighbours like Pakistan, Ceylone, Burmah and Indonesia and alienated from Western democracies by Mr. Nehru's taking up a dubious position vis-a-vis China's aggression and the ever readiness of our democratic friends to come to our aid in defence of India's freedom. As Dr. Ambedkar said, 'We have no friends left'. But Mr. Nehru is satisfied if he has only 'Bhai' Khrushchev by his side, always with his noose of the hangman which is no less

dangerous to India than the sharp knife of Mr. Mao the butcher.

As Edmund Burke said 'A conceding Government is a weak Government' and it can never guard and protect the interests of the country and save her freedom. It is probable, therefore, that 'Easily Got, Easily Lost' will be the epitaph that will come to be inscribed on the tomb of India's Freedom when such India Government's 'conceding' policies will have brought her freedom to an end. Is this the projection of our national struggle reflected in his policies that Mr. Nehru speaks of?

TOTAL FAILURE OF NON-ALIGNMENT

As for the increasing support Mr. Nehru claims to have gained from the world for his 'non-alignment' policy, one fails to follow what he says. The Sino-Indian conflict has nothing to do with Sino-Russian rift. Communism is admittedly monolithic at home and abroad. According to its theory, life is power and power is indivisible and so, there cannot be two communist nations China and Russia and two leaders, Mao and Krushchev co-existing with each other on an equal footing as the leaders of the world communist movement. Bertrand Russell immediately after the out-break of Russian revolution in 1917, had predicted in his book "Roads to Freedom" this probable tussel between two Communist States. And Nehru as a keen student of communism should know better about it. But none is so blind as he who will not see.

So also the Test Ban Agreement cannot be said to have any relation with the exhortations addressed to the world statesmen by peace-mongers like Nehru for Disarmament and Peace even at the cost of keeping Germany permanently divided, by conceding the demand of Russia for the recognition of the East German State by Western nations, and by yielding to the communists on the issue of the Berlin City. The fact of the matter is that the present somewhat healthy trends in international politics are the outcome of the Balance of Terror having tilted on the side of the democratic allies—a fact which was brought home to Mr. Khrushchev by Mr. Kennedy in the Cuban affair in a language which alone could appeal to him.

Therefore, as the Opposition leaders said in the Parliament, a total failure is writ large on the foreign policy of Nehru, despite his empty boast that it has influenced world events in recent times. At home, his Government has signally failed to defend India's frontiers and made defence of our country doubly weak and more difficult.

Seized and sandwiched between a home-policy overlaid with impracticable socialist planning and a foreign policy of 'nonalignment' which in reality is only another name for 'appeasement' of the enemy right in the Chamberlainian style and self-liquidation and self-stultification, poor India is being forcibly led towards a destiny which the Fathers of

Indian nationalism and Prophets of India's freedom never meant for her

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STRONG BULWARK AGAINST CHINA'S EXPANSIONISM

The dark political clouds that have been gathering over the political horizon of South-East Asia, have had, recently, a silverlining in the rise of Malaysia. It has been known that for some time Peking had been trying frantically through its stooges in Indonesia and powerful Chinese minorities in the four regions of Malaysia, to prevent its birth. It was fortunate that the Phillipines also joined these subversive forces arrayed against its formation. But the patience and tactful diplomacy of Tunku Abdul Rahman ultimately triumphed over what seemed to be almost insuperable difficulties. His decision to abide by the findings of U.N. on the question whether Sarawak and North Borneo wished to join voluntarily the proposed Federation, was a master stroke in this diplomatic game. The U.N. decision went in his favour and facilitated his work of at last bringing his long cherished dream of Malaysian Federation to fruition.

Malaysia will undoubtedly be a strong bulwark against Chinese expansionism in South-East Asia. China wanted all the four areas of Singapore, Malaya, North Borneo and Sarawak to remain independent of each other so that she could at the

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first opportunity strike at them one by one and in the end add them all into her fold. By the re-creation that has now come into existence, the relations of forces will be changed. The Chinese population will now be overwhelmed by the combined strength of non-Chinese population of all the different regions that form this Federation. Thus, thwarted in her plan to sabotage the formation of the Malayan Federation, the Chinese are now making their last bid to create trouble for this new State by fomenting ill-feelings and hatred among the Opposition Parties in Indonesia which are under the powerful influence of the communists. But Tunku Abdul Rahman seems to be well prepared to face any eventuality arising from communist manoeuvres, with the active help and sympathy of the Western democratic powers.

South Asia has been badly wanting such a genuinely democratic country as a counter-blast to China, since India and Pakistan who were expected to play the role, have miserably failed in this respect, one going the socialist way and the other the military way. The future of democracy in South-East Asia will now be decided not by socialist India already half lost to the democratic cause, but by this young Federation which is not only committed to democratic form of Government but is also closely allied with the free world. It can be hoped that it will show other Asian nations including India that the sure road to prosperity lies through Freedom.

* * *

T. T. K'S 'CENTRISM'

Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari is admittedly a clever Finance Minister though one wishes he were equally open, frank and sincere. His Expenditure Tax proposals which created quite a furore before his exit from the Cabinet last time, were scotched by his successor Mr. Morarji Desai. Now it seems to be the turn of T. T. K. to reverse the major policies of Mr. Desai particularly his C. D. Scheme and Gold Control Order. The net result is, the people are being swung between the 'leftist' and 'rightist' financial and economic policies alternately imposed on the country by a Government which does not know its own mind.

Mr. Morarji Desai introduced these schemes firstly to solve the foreign exchange scarcity problem and secondly to make all sections of the population contribute their mite towards the defence funds of the Government of India required in the emergency created by the Chinese invasion. The rich and the well-to-do already taxed to the maximum capacity could not be discriminated against, any more without slowing down the wheels of industry and reducing the volume of capital investment. The lower income groups in the rural and urban areas already suffering grievously under the spirally rising prices could not be called upon to sacrifice any more for the defence fund without their being reduced to the starvation level and abject misery.

Under the circumstances, the ex-Finance Minister lighted upon what he considered to be the 'bright' idea of C. D. Scheme in the hope that the people would fall for the bait offered in the form of compulsory savings and interest thereon. But people reacted sharply and showed their displeasure by soundly trouncing the Congress in the recent by-elections to the Parliament. This fact shocked the Congress leadership out of its self-satisfaction as no other event, not even the Chinese invasion did before. This is the genesis of the 'centrist' position that has been taken by T. T. K. in exempting the low income groups both, rural and urban, from the operation of C. D. S.

The Gold Control Order also met with the same stiff opposition from not only gold-smiths thrown out of employment but also the common people who had come to look upon gold not only as useful metal for manufacturing ornaments for their women-folk but also as a metal of stable value in these days of unsound currency and the devaluation of the Rupee. The smuggling of gold has been going on as merrily as ever complicating still further the foreign exchange situation. The new changes introduced by T. T. K. are expected to give a further incentive to smuggling since gold-smiths are now permitted to convert the existing ornaments into those of higher than 14 carat gold. Under the new scheme, neither the objective of mobilising gold for national reconstruction nor that of stopping the drain on our foreign exchange resources will be achieved, though a pretty number of gold-smiths might be restored to their former regular business as well as to their illegal but more lucrative one of smuggling gold.

The pity of it is that Mr. Nehru's socialism would not allow even the able T. T. K. to scrap the impossible and impracticable financial policies and replace them by sound ones. It is also likely that he will get lost in the maze of combining economics with stupid socialistic theories. The latest sensible statement made by T. T. K. in respect of nationalisation of Banks which, in the opinion of the 'Leftists', is the one panacea for all the financial predicaments of the Government, might prove to be his undoing in the end. For, Socialist Pattern must inevitably end in the Government owning all means of production, distribution and exchange. And Mr. Nehru is known to be a good stickler for his socialist-cum-communist ideology and programme, whatever might happen to the country. So it is not excluded that all 'centrists' like T. T. K. will in the near future have to make room for full-blooded 'leftists' and go the same way that 'Rightists' have done.

This dangerous drift towards 'leftism' could be stopped only by a remارشalling of the democratic forces in the Cabinet and the Congress who believe in the possibility of India making economic and industrial progress under a free economy with the Government exercising its minimum control over it.

—D. M. Kulkarni.

The Realisation Of Opinion

M. A. VENKATA RAO

We have no democracy in our country, if by democracy is meant, as it should be, Government by consent, after full discussions. Majority rule is not democracy. Socialism — Communism may develop the country, but it starves the Man. It creates riches but not for everyman, as in every form of Plutocracy. Independent opinion in India should make its own assessment of Socialism as a human policy in all its aspects as a counter to official policy. Today India needs a strong stream of independent opinion to leaven the thought of all intellectual workers and political leaders, and to build a genuine democracy.

IN every form of Government, in the last resort, it is the prevailing opinion that rules and moulds effective policies. Even the dictator has to respect the dominant feelings and attitudes of the people over whom he rules. He may tyrannise over some part of the people but he should take care to secure the adherence and loyalty of sufficient numbers and the acquiescence of others if he is to risk the displeasure of the majority of the nation.

By and large dictators come to power as champions of certain popular causes that had been neglected by previous rulers. They acquire power as liberators of the masses from an intolerable yoke. Hitlerism amassed its immense popular appeal and influence over the German nation smarting from defeat in the war of 1914-18 and from the humiliation of the war guilt clauses of the Versailles Treaty. The bloated ambition of the Kaiser and the ruling circles under him to surpass the British empire in power and prestige, in industry and trade, in empire and science and technology and even in culture was shattered in the shambles of Flanders. The Germans were deeply frustrated.

Hitler offered to wipe out the disgrace and stop the demoralisation and rebuild the nation and acquire an empire larger than that of the British, larger than the old Holy Roman Empire of pre-medieval times and to establish a lasting era of glory and prosperity. He called for sacrifice in that great cause and the Germans responded with all their strength, unconscious as well as conscious.

It is this ideology of resurrection of the German race to master the whole world that brought such power to Hitler.

This mobilisation of the national unconscious in favour of national restoration and national glory by Hitler gave him a *carte blanche* in the eyes of the German people which the Hitler regime used and misused with such fearful cruelty and corruption of conscience.

So too in the case of Bolshevism. Though it began in the works of Karl Marx swathed in the scientific robes of economics and sociology, it soon got attached to a world mission of liberating the working class of the whole world.

The ideology of class war, the exploitation supposed to be inherent in capitalism (that could only

be abolished with the uprooting of the possessing class), of surplus value, of property as theft, of religion and indeed all culture as the opium of the people, of culture — the arts and ideals and moralities, customs and manners of a people being but the passive reflection of the economic basis — but the superstructure of the economic organisation or relations of production and so on — this congeries of opinions got clustered round the emotion of humanitarianism regarding the relief of the toiling masses. It is this artificial association of ideology and emotion (but externally correlated) that accounts for the immense revolutionary power of communism.

Thus both forms of totalitarianism in our generation — Nazism-fascism and communism — derive their overmastering influence from opinion originating with a few master minds and spread by congenial spirits who are inspired by their ideas.

They begin as minority opinion but gradually as circumstances favour them, they acquire momentum and become dominant and when leaders with charismatic appeal adopt them, they become ruling doctrines and revolutionise society.

In India, Western liberal ideas began to penetrate English-educated groups like the Raja Ram Mohan Roy after the French Revolution with its slogans of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity. Christian missions created a stir particularly among the lower castes educated in English schools and rising to new visions of social aspirations.

After the Sepoy Rebellion and the establishment of universities and the entertainment of Indians in the higher ranks of the administration and the growth of the learned professions—lawyers, doctors, teachers — Western liberalism and ideas of free society and culture and freedom and individuality began to exercise a powerful leaven in Indian society.

In addition to political stirrings, they started movements aiming at social equality and reform of social customs, making for rational relations, equality and progress and enterprise. Society began to move from status to contract. Greater social and economic mobility set in and began a transformation that is yet going on in every facet of life.

In this context, it is easy to appreciate the dictum of David Hume that in the last resort it is Opinion that rules the world.

"Though men be much ^{disturbed by a sense of} yet even interest itself and all human affairs, are entirely governed by opinion."

Napolean Bounaparte, that shrewd observer and manipulator of men had the same point in view when he said that only two things move men in the mass — **interest and imagination.**

Even interest does not operate directly. It operates in creating its response through what experience and custom suggest as suitable methods of satisfying it.

Hungry men do not immediately loot a grain shop. They look for employment that will bring wages that could be exchanged for grain.

It is this psychological factor that Karl Marx overlooked when he formulated his theory economic determination of history.

"This shows how it is possible to be blinded by the glare of a preconceived system. Not only is Marxism a bad guide to the future but it also renders its followers incapable of seeing what is happening before their eyes, in their own historical period and sometimes with their own co-operation."

Dr. Karl Popper. The Open Society and its Enemies Vol. II page 141.

Theory or dogma is like the blinkers of a horse. It shows the road before it clearly but shuts out all other possibilities.

Marx himself after elaborate defence of his ideas gave up the sponge with the remark that the main thing in his doctrine was not truth but practice, — not the description or explanation of society or economic affairs but **how to change them!**

Marxists therefore use Marxist ideas to indoctrinate their followers as with the orders of the day in a campaign or marching orders in a battle. They are not mainly concerned with truth in any objective sense, the same for all. Indeed they deny its very existence. They only assert its class character. For them there is only proletarian truth or capitalist truth — no truth in itself!

Dr. Popper's statement that Marxism makes its adherents ignore inconvenient truths is amply and strikingly illustrated in the attitude of our Prime Minister and his group of socialist planning enthusiasts.

They have accepted the Soviet type of central planning with complete economic power for the State, leaving areas for the private sector only as a matter of temporary tactics to be gradually narrowed and ultimately stifled.

They started with the abolition of the zamindari on the basis of Marxist dogma that it was necessary for progress in agriculture. They accepted "land to the tiller," confiscating (nearly) the property of

owners, and making tenancy permanent irrespective of the terms of the contract and the conduct of the tenant and of the right of the owner to resume his land. The whole complex of ideas were taken over **without discussion**, let alone demonstration and put into legislation in Act after Act and Supreme and High Court declarations were surmounted by amendments with the help of the brute majority that Congress had inherited from Gandhi.

This is not democracy, if by democracy is meant, as it should be, government by consent after full discussion. Mere majority rule is not democracy.

The Prime Minister replied to Prof. Ranga in the Lok Sabha in the September Session that his Government were proceeding with the seventeenth amendment in spite of the opposition. The forty thousand petitions sent to the Lok Sabha by ryots are to count for nothing.

The grave democratic question that arises in this situation is the duty of the intelligentsia to study the whole question of socialism or communism as being given effect to in the five year plans and as embodied in the so-called land reforms. They must be studied in all their aspects, economic, legal, political and socialism in their effects in the short period and in the long period and on different sections of society, urban and rural.

We do not suggest that we should oppose everything that the Nehru Government is proposing as a matter of blind "principle."

We are as keen as any one else that the unspeakable poverty of the masses and of the country as a whole needs radical treatment. But we are convinced that the policies that the Nehru Government are pursuing are **obsolete** and being of the same kind as those embodied in Soviet countries have been **proven hopelessly wrong.** They have brought more misery than good. The progress they have brought (mostly due to force) could have been achieved and even exceeded by voluntary methods. To mention but one example, Soviet agriculture has been acknowledged to be an all-round failure. The production is about the same today after forty years of bloody dictatorship and the cruel liquidation of eight millions of peasants (as confessed by Stalin himself)! Collective farming and State farming have proved failures in terms of economic tests — production rates per man — acre — machine or capital unit. M. Khrushchev sent deputations to the USA to find out how they achieve their productivity — such a high rate that 12 per cent of the population produce enough to feed the whole world! Money has to be given to American farmers to **refrain** from producing **grain!** They have to let lands lie fallow — to create **"land banks"**! The secret is incentive and technology and capital investment.

Socialism — Communism develops the country but starves the Man. It creates riches but not for **everyman!** As in plutocracy!

(Continued on Page 8)

Biting The Hand That Protects

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

By M. N. THOLAL

Nehru does not believe in the security of the country being the primary concern of his government. And that is the root cause of the sorry situation facing India, in which our only strength is the determination of the Western powers not to allow India to be swallowed by China. Conscious of this determination Mr. Nehru continues biting the hand that feeds and protects.

INITIATING a debate on the international situation in the Lok Sabha, Prime Minister Nehru said India was most interested in the maintenance of peace in the world. One may well ask him whether India should not be even more interested in the maintenance of peace in India and on her borders, and whether the peace of the world is not disturbed by a disturbance of peace in India. Indeed, the most effective way of maintaining peace is for every country to see that there is peace in the country and on her borders, which would automatically ensure peace for the world. But, despite the fact that India is most interested in the maintenance of peace in the world, India has only contributed to the disturbance of peace in the world by her failure to make sure that peace on her borders is not disturbed. That being so, Mr. Nehru's policy of peace for the world has been an entire failure.

Mr. Nehru would perhaps say we have been deceived, but, Rajaji says, it is the business of the enemy to deceive. To that again Mr. Nehru would say, as he has said, that he regarded China as our friend. Ultimately the question boils down to Mr. Nehru's failure to recognise his country's enemies as its enemies and to his recognition of India's enemies as India's friends, despite the massing, over years, of troops and munitions of war by China near India's borders. This policy persists even after the Chinese invasion of India. Russia continues to be regarded as a friendly country, despite Russian affirmation and reiteration of the Sino-Russian Alliance which resulted in the supply of fighters and bombers in thousands to China for her use, obviously against India.

Mr. Nehru spoke of the "progressive deterioration of the relations between the Soviet Union and China," and of "the tremendous break in the Communist world, that is, between the Soviet Union and some other countries," and he observed, "This talk of Communism versus anti-Communism governing the world is no longer relevant." But here, in this connection, is a most revealing news item appearing in newspapers of September 4:

Tokyo, September 3 (A. P.)—The Soviet Union told Communist China today there was no need for it to try and manufacture an atom bomb because, if attacked, it could count on Soviet nuclear might under the Sino-Soviet Friendship and Mutual Alliance Treaty.

In a Japanese language broadcast, Moscow Radio assured Peking that despite Sino-Soviet differences, the treaty remained very much in effect. The as-

surances were contained in an editorial by the commentator, Mr. Ilynsky (phonetic from Japanese) who asked: "Why does China feel it must have an atom bomb? Is it for her defence? In this connection we would like to remind China of two things. One is that there is a Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Assistance between the Soviet Union and China, and even now it continues in effect. The second is that the Soviet Union has repeatedly pointed out that it considers an attack on the People's Republic of China to be an attack on the Soviet Union itself. Therefore, if the People's Republic of China is subject to an attack, the entire might of the Soviet Union will be available to China. What greater security can China ask for?"

This warning, in the context of the Indian Parliament's solemn resolve to throw out the Chinese from the sacred soil of India, which the Soviet Union, according to her maps, considers to be Chinese territory, can only be said to be addressed to India. It is with India alone that China is at the moment in a state of undeclared war. It is the Indian Government alone that is thinking in terms of, and is committed to, repelling the Chinese forces from the areas they have occupied in India. A great journalist once said: "Facts are sacred: comment is free". But Mr. Nehru finds it necessary to disregard the facts because they displease his pampered self and because they do not fit in with the policies he has chalked out in pursuance of his basic policy of pampering himself all the time. And the country suffers because he chooses to make a mountain of the molehill of Sino-Russian differences and to reduce to a molehill the mountain of Sino-Soviet Treaty of Mutual Friendship and Alliance, which is even now supplying China with the latest Russian weapons.

OUR FOREIGN POLICY

Mr. Nehru said India had played in international affairs in the last ten years a part which was in excess of its internal strength. India had been able to play that part not by throwing its weight about, because it had no weight either militarily or economically, he observed, but by the correctness of its foreign policy which was appreciated in other countries. In which countries was our foreign policy appreciated? It certainly was not appreciated in the western countries. It was appreciated in Soviet Russia and in China, because it promoted Russian and Chinese expansion. We have seen the result of that appreciation. (No wonder Indian Communists are the strongest supporters of Mr. Nehru's foreign policy). Still our Prime Minister went on to assert that his foreign policy had succeeded in great mea-

sure, though he was "not referring to India's troubles with China or Pakistan". Indeed, he should not have demolished his case for his foreign policy by mentioning them! It is his foreign policy that has resulted in the invasion of India, following India's state of friendlessness glorified as non-alignment. For, China knew very well how genuine was Russia's friendship for India, indicated by Russia's arming China to the teeth—which was enough for China to overrun India but which was almost insignificant against the might of the NATO and SEATO Powers—and China gambled on the animosity of the Western Powers towards India as a result of her pro-Russian and pro-Chinese policy, which she thought would prevent them from coming to India's aid. That should be clear to any sane mind, for, as soon as western military aid threatened to arrive in India on our Prime Minister's SOS for help, China unilaterally ordered cease-fire.

But Mr. Nehru prefers to think that "even our conflict with China has become to some extent connected with the increasing conflict between the Soviet Union and China." Is it because ideological differences make it imperative for Russia to support China against India? "It is a matter of major importance", Mr. Nehru said, "what attitude a great power like the Soviet Union adopts towards India, China and other countries." Of course it is and that attitude has been declared once again as recently as September 3 last in a Moscow Radio broadcast reproduced above.

COLD WAR

Replying to the debate, Mr. Nehru said it was stupid and foolish for any country to follow the policy of the cold war. Our Prime Minister has this great advantage in condemning the cold war and its adherents—and in thus aligning India with Soviet Russia—that most people do not understand what the cold war is and what it was intended to achieve, and vaguely imagine that it is some kind of a war or preparation for war and consequently naturally bad. In fact it is neither. It is and was, on the other hand, a prophylactic against war and has eminently succeeded in preventing war. After the second world war Soviet Russia practically annexed one country after another in Eastern Europe—Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, East Germany, Bulgaria and Rumania, to say nothing of the three Baltic states—until the Western Powers formed the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, known as NATO, and said to Soviet Russia in effect: "Thus far and no farther"—without war. Expelling Soviet Russia from any of the countries occupied by her would have resulted in war. So the best the Western Powers could do was to join and say: No farther without war; thus throwing the blame for starting war on Russia. Soviet Russia called it cold war and condemned it, and our Prime Minister followed suit. The western military alliance has been a great success inasmuch as it has achieved its object of containing Soviet Russia and preventing its farther advance towards Western Europe, and that too peacefully. Mr. Nehru calls it stupid and foolish without ever trying to understand or explain what the cold war is and how it can be said to be "stupid and

foolish" unless the prevention of the loss by a country of its freedom can be said to be stupid and foolish. And any country is supposed to be a great anti-colonialist! The condemnation of the cold war by our Prime Minister is really condemnation of NATO and its members and flattery of Soviet Russia, whom our Prime Minister has seldom condemned for her colonialism. Indeed, he has gone so far as to say that the Russian subjection and exploitation of the countries named above—often referred to as the captive nations of Europe—is not colonialism.

Mr. Nehru proceeded to observe that the cold war policy was not a civilised policy and unsuited to the age, because it could only, he asserted, lead ultimately to absolute destruction. It has not, as a matter of fact, led to absolute destruction, but has on the contrary, led to absolute security for countries on the borders of Soviet Russia. But Mr. Nehru does not believe in Security First, much less in collective security, which he condemns almost every time he opens his mouth on foreign affairs. That is obvious from his oft-repeated condemnation of NATO and CENTO and SEATO, which have meant SECURITY for its members. One is therefore entitled to assume that Mr. Nehru does not believe in security of the country being the primary concern of the Government of the country. And that is the root cause of the sorry situation facing India in which our only strength is the determination of the Western Powers not to allow India to be swallowed by China. Conscious of that determination, Mr. Nehru continues biting the hand that feeds and protects.

(Continued from Page 6)

Independent opinion in India should make its own assessment of socialism as a human policy in all its aspects as a counter to official policy.

John Maynard Keynes who became after the first World War the chief economic adviser to the British Government began to make money on the stock exchange so as to be independent of official or business patronage to enable him to offer his own scientific advice in the national interest, undeterred by official wishes or business influences!

J. S. Mill stressed the great and indispensable service rendered to democracy by independent thinkers like Bentham and Coleridge, Carlyle and Ricardo. Their opinions percolated to official and political circles through periodicals and university teaching and study and discussion clubs. J. S. Mill himself became the guide, philosopher and friend of liberal statesmen in mid-nineteenth century. Today in India, we need a strong stream of independent opinion to leaven the thought of journalists, teachers, writers, politicians, trade union leaders, civil service-men etc., if we are keen on building a democracy in our country. The fundamental rights should be assimilated and become flesh and blood and art of the nervous system of the common people (Sthayibhava). Then no government of whatever party will dare to tamper with them. Even self-sacrificing fighters will need ideas for which to fight!

FREE ENTERPRISE ECONOMY NOT FOR THE LAZY

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

By Prof. LUDWIG ERHARD

THE social-market policy is not for the easy-going. No, it is not for the lazy, points out Professor Ludwig Erhard, Federal Minister of Economic Affairs, in an article explaining his philosophy of free enterprise, individual initiative and planning by Government.

All parties and almost all groups in the Federal Republic of Germany say that they are in favour of a free economic order, as if it were a matter of course. Yet, at the same time, there is an ever-increasing call not only abroad but here for State measures, for more State "activity", and finally the desire for "plan". This makes it clear that the idea and conception of a free economic and social order has not yet sunk sufficiently deep roots.

We need not look far to see a working comparison of a rigidly planned economic and social system on the one hand and a free system on the other. We need only look at the Soviet-occupied Zone of Germany and compare conditions there with the way of life in the Federal Republic of Germany.

Across the Iron Curtain in that other part of Germany, the people are certainly as hardworking as the people in the Federal Republic are. If, nevertheless, they do not enjoy the fruits of their labour, and the total production of their economy is very much less than in the Federal Republic, there is a clear explanation.

COLLECTIVE SYSTEM VS. FREE ORDER

The reason for the difference between the position over there and that here is that the collectivistic system of the Soviet Zone of Germany, based on State planning, has failed, while during the same years our free, liberal, social economic order here in the Federal Republic has brought forth a rich harvest.

The social-market policy that we founded 15 years ago—we founded it on a basis of ruins and rubble, want and misery—is certainly not for the easy-going. Our way of life encourages people to compete and thus produce to their utmost capacity. No, it is not for the lazy. On the other hand, consider what it has done: It has created in this destroyed country a highly developed economy, which can compare favourably with that of the most advanced industrial countries in the world.

I am not saying this in order to distract attention from the fact that there is still want here in the Federal Republic of Germany, too, and that we still have big tasks ahead of us. But it is certain that our many successes to date have been achieved because we have combined freedom with responsibility.

MORE THAN AN ECONOMIC RECIPE

The constantly rising output of the German economy is proof of the economic soundness of our approach. But it is more than that—more than a recipe for prosperity. An economic order that guarantees a maximum of personal freedom in all

aspects of life is at the same time one of the essential bases of a democratic State founded on the rule of law.

Anyone who has experienced as thoroughly as the Germans have the devastating influence of excessive State direction, with its destruction of the individual's freedom, anyone who has gone through that and then experienced the joy of freedom regained will be clear about his philosophy.

THE ROLE OF INDIVIDUALS

But a social-market system—by which I mean a maximum of free enterprise combined with a determination that nobody's exercise of freedom must infringe on the general welfare—is also good for a highly practical reason. We have seen above that a free economy like ours gives wide scope to the activity of all concerned. Yet, even in the act of granting this individual leeway, a free market economy does itself a favour. It solves the problem of how to direct a highly complex economy—an economy that in its totality is nowadays not even approximately comprehensible to any one person...

Critics contend that while a social-market policy might have been the right recipe for a time of shortage, from now on State planning alone can guarantee steady growth and provide a standard for suitable investments. They argue that to prevent over-production the State should set economic goals, fix standards, keep down prices and keep the economy competitive. Answering these critics, Prof. Dr. Ludwig Erhard points out:

"All experience teaches that particularly in a situation of State planning there is exceedingly great likelihood of misplaced investments—for planning and reality hardly ever coincide".

ROLE OF THE STATES

Prof. Erhard, however, agrees that the State has a role to play. He concludes: "The State, to be sure, has an important role to play. That role is to make sure that the economy remains in firm shape. The State provides a sound basis for prosperity, not by creating prosperity but by making sure that it is maintained. The State can ensure that the currency remains stable, that there is fair competition and that all income groups have adequate purchasing power. These factors taken care of, the liberated energies of all the individuals that make up the public are the best assurance that the upward trend will continue toward a better life for all".

—German News Weekly

Menon Outlines Foreign Policy Results

(From Our Correspondent)

The best retort to the Prime Minister's claim regarding the success of his foreign policy and of the policy of non-alignment came from the ex-Defence Minister, Mr. Krishna Menon, in the debate on the international situation in the Lok Sabha. For most part of his speech he seems to have been unaware of the fact that he was condemning and not commending Mr. Nehru's policies. Mr. Menon said in his inimitable English that the situation created by the "considerable accentuation" of arms strength in Pakistan and the Sino-Pakistan alliance must be regarded as a "grave risk to our national security". The time had come to realise, he observed, that India was confronted by an international combination that might be "exploited for one purpose or another". The "accentuation" of Pakistan's arms strength, Mr. Menon said, was partly the result of western arms aid, adding that it would not be possible to expect the US to arm India against Pakistan as the latter was its military ally. He might have added that, in effect, both the western and the eastern arms aid to Pakistan and China respectively was now poised against India and might be used any day.

As if summing up the great achievement of Mr. Nehru, Mr. Menon said, "We have a new combination (of China and Pakistan) and that combination may either perform as one holding the ring for the other or the two together performing at the same time." Is that, it is being asked here, an indication of the fact, stressed by Mr. Nehru in his reply to the debate, that countries of the NATO and Warsaw pacts were moving closer to each other? If China and Pakistan can embrace each other, world peace should be nearer, even if it comes nearer at the cost of India. And Mr. Menon almost pathetically added, "Our friends in western countries must be made to realise that we do not want either humiliation or defeat." Who is to make them realise that? The Communist bloc members on whom Mr. Menon had been relying all these years?

Maharani Gayatri Devi has a way of summing up the situation and she pithily observed that the country's foreign policy was preventing India's friends from coming forward with the best assistance they could offer. Indeed, she might have gone a little farther and truthfully observed that our foreign policy is aimed at converting our friends into our enemies. Referring to an allegation made by the Swatantra leader, Mr. N. G. Ranga, that there was a China lobby in the country, Mr. Nehru banteringly said, "I agree, but there are other lobbies too in India." Under true non-alignment friends apparently cannot be distinguished from enemies. They deserve equal treatment, particularly from a "fearless nation" like India. The quoted words are Mr. Nehru's. Who can say that he is wrong? History is on his side, for it shows we have never been afraid even of slavery.

GUJARAT CHANGE-OVER

Mr. Nehru is understood to have taken strong exception at a meeting of the Central Congress Parliamentary Board to the manner in which some members of the Board and some Gujarat Congressmen brought about the exit of Dr. Jivraj Mehta from the office of Chief Minister. Mr. Nehru is also understood to have deplored the way in which some leaders took unseemly interest in bringing about the resignation of Dr. Mehta. Mr. Morarji Desai, who is one of the new members of the Board, tried to explain the situation in Gujarat, saying Dr. Mehta did not command the support of the majority of the Party. Some members, who concurred with Mr. Nehru's views pointed out that it was not just a simple question of majority and minority among Congressmen. But they did not elaborate their profound observation or state what the real question was. According to wags here, the real question was whether a chief minister should be removed without ascertaining Mr. Nehru's views and concurring with them, and whether any importance should be attached to the majority view if it is not in consonance with that of Mr. Nehru.

Considerable importance has been attached here to the statement issued by ten Gujarat Congress MLAs. They say if Dr. Mehta was prepared to accept the democratic tradition, he would have avoided being placed in a sorry situation in which the Congress President had to advise him to resign. They say there was no such thing as attempting to strengthen the hands of Mr. Morarji Desai or accepting his arbitration. All that was intended was to solve the issue domestically in the interest of the prestige of the party and the maintenance of healthy traditions. But both healthy and democratic traditions are now undergoing a change here in the Capital and it is not for provincial nobodies to poke their noses in their amendment when the Supreme Leader is here to whisper words of Absolute Wisdom. No wonder there were many awkward moments during the meeting of the Central Congress Parliamentary Board when many things were left unsaid in the hope that they will be taken note of by erring Congressmen who talk in terms of majority and minority. It is now becoming clearer why Messrs. Desai and Patil had to leave, and it is being hoped here that it is becoming clearer to them also.

SARDAR PATEL'S STATUE

An impressive bronze statue of Sardar Patel was unveiled here on September 18 by President Radhakrishnan, who said it was appropriate that the Capital should have a memorial to the courageous patriot but the great tribute to his memory was a united India "forged by his political adroitness and administrative power". Mr. Prakash Vir Shastri, an

independent member of Parliament, has criticised the decision not to instal the statue at Vijay Chowk, the site originally chosen for it. A committee set up a few years ago had selected Vijay Chowk for the installation of the statue. An announcement to this effect was also made in Parliament by the late Pandit Pant, the then Home Member. According to his information the decision to change the venue was taken at a high level. It must have been taken at a very high level indeed, for no protests have followed the denigration of Sardar Patel. Mr. Shastri said he did not wish to draw a comparison between the activities of great personalities, but if the late Pandit Pant could get the statue of Pandit Motilal Nehru installed in the precincts of the Lok Sabha, why was the statue of Sardar Patel being installed at such an unimportant place? Mr. Shastri had written letters on the subject to the President, the Prime Minister and the Home Minister urging them to have the statue installed at Vijay Chowk, but obviously to no purpose. The architect of India's unity deserved a better place. But there is no cure for melancholy meanness. The reader should be able to recall the refusal of the present Free India Government to return the property of that great Freedom Fighter, Vir Savarkar, which was confiscated by the British Government.

TREASON TRIAL DEMAND

The Committee Against Chinese Aggression has called for the Prime Minister's resignation and for former Defence Minister Krishna Menon's trial for treason in the light of the NEFA report. Members of the Committee told a news conference here on September 6 that the report proved that both Mr. Nehru and Mr. Menon had betrayed the nation. They demanded an "open trial" of the former Defence Minister. The Committee regretted that even after ten years of continuous Chinese pressure and concern voiced by the people and their representatives, both inside and outside Parliament, it was found that the training of Indian troops "did not have a slant for a war launched by China". Indeed, Mr. Krishna Menon is reported to have told a Chief of the Army Staff that the country's enemy was on the east and west and not on the North. This report was published in several papers and was not contradicted by the then Defence Minister, Mr. Krishna Menon. But surely the Defence Minister was not acting on his own in thus giving general directions to the Army Chief of Staff. All indications point to the surmise amounting to virtual certainty, that Mr. Menon was only passing on the Prime Minister's instructions. It was a clever piece of parliamentary jugglery to have postponed the placing of the NEFA report on the table of the Lok Sabha until after the end of the no-confidence debate, in the course of which Mr. Menon said he had nothing to be ashamed of and the Prime Minister defended him. It is generally agreed here that it was no part of the duty of the Prime Minister to supply such deadly ammunition to the Opposition for their attack on the no-confidence motion. In fact the stunning report would have made all arguments on the part of the Opposition leaders superfluous.

MR. CHITALE'S OPINION ON 17th AMENDMENT

Sri K. A. Chitale, Senior Advocate of the Supreme Court and formerly Advocate General of Madhya Pradesh, has given the following opinion:

'The landholders under ryotwari settlements have sought my opinion on the merits of the bill recently introduced in the Lok Sabha for the seventeenth amendment of the Constitution.

The bill is calculated to amend Art. 31-A of the Constitution so as to enlarge the definition of the expression 'estate' and to embrace the expropriation of any land held under ryotwari settlement and land held or let for purposes of agriculture, besides any jagir, inam or muafi or other similar tenures. The move for the amendment of the Constitution has emerged on account of the judgment of the Supreme Court striking down the Kerala Agrarian Relations Act, 1961. The proposed amendment of the Constitution will open the floodgates for expropriatory legislation affecting landholders, and the fundamental right of property enshrined in the Constitution will become wholly illusory. Under the law prevailing in Madhya Pradesh, there is a ceiling on the purchase of land and if that ceiling is to provide the norm or yardstick as to the extent of the land which agriculturist may hold, it is going to be economically so inadequate that for an economic operation the resort to some cooperative agency will be unavoidable. The scheme is tantamount to communism by the backdoor.

The expropriation is also unfair in the sense that the question of compensation and public purpose are not justifiable, as it will be left to bureaucratic discretion.

In my opinion, the proposed amendment is bad public policy and against public justice. I hope, in its wisdom, Parliament will not pass the bill.'

* * *

WHERE SOCIALISM LEADS

Ironically, socialism, which is claimed by its advocates to be a system to provide for the needs of everyone, actually leads not only to tyranny but to a progressive breakdown of production and, if persisted in, eventually to starvation and anarchy. Red China is currently following that path; Soviet Russia has borrowed a few ideas from capitalism on occasion to combat economic collapse and starvation. On the other hand, capitalism, which does not claim as its objective 'doing good' for everyone, creates infinitely greater wealth for all to partake of and provides freedom for the individual, instead of slavery, while doing so.

—Samuel Ayres M. D. California

FOOD FOR THOUGHT

When a nation has become free it is extremely difficult to persuade them that their freedom is only to be preserved by perpetual and minute jealousy. They do not observe that there is a constant, perhaps an unconscious effort on the part of their governors to demolish, and so ultimately to destroy, that freedom.

—Sydney Smith

"Big Red" Makes a Choice

WILLIAM E. HOWELL

A HAWK, a snow-covered field, a zoo, and a bobtailed mouse were subject parts of a recent lesson in self-determination and the right to choose. These principles of liberty, bequeathed to us by those who regarded them highly, apparently have come to be lightly esteemed in a welfare state.

As I stood looking across our icy, snow-covered countryside, they thermometer outside the window read zero.

The real object of my scanning was not yet in view, though ordinarily one could almost check the time by his appearance. I was reaching the point of concern when I sighted him well off his usual path, low over the treetops, and coming in fast. Big Red was late.

Big Red is an Eastern red-tailed hawk, a giant in his family, a magnificent specimen, not a feather missing; and he shines with the metallic sheen of cleanliness. For four years he has patrolled our rural area, teaching us the worth of hawks in general and something about independence and self-reliance in particular — he has but one leg.

As he leveled off over the field he had chosen as a hunting ground, he set immediately and intensely about his job. The big fellow obviously was hungry; and his aerial maneuvers were something to watch as he sailed low and slowly over the icy table Nature had set below him.

He balanced himself in the icy air with the ease and grace of a tightwire walker, investigating every clump of poverty grass and giving special attention to tree-and bush-lined fence rows.

He worked steadily without results as he measured off the area of the field before moving to the row of trees within fifty feet of my ringside window. As he pulled even with me, he wheeled suddenly away as if startled. Flapping his wings to gain altitude, he made a lightning about-face and dived like a bullet at the base of a huge wild cherry tree that supported a bird feeding station. Amid a flurry of snow and feathers, he came up with a fat, short-tailed mouse as large as a small rat, probably his first food of the day.

As he made off with his catch, my thoughts turned to another specimen of red-tailed hawk living under different conditions: *Buteo borealis*, the caption under his cage says; he is in the birdhouse at our zoo. In his dirty, broken feathers he sits motionless, apparently oblivious to his surroundings, caring so little about living as to seldom open his eyes; and when he does, his vacant stare wanders without focus and without hope or purpose to give it expression. Gone is the fierce countenance of birds of prey, the characteristic that makes them fascinating.

My eye followed Big Red as he made for some dining point he had in mind, and the thought occurred: If he had a choice, would this wild thing exchange his meager morsel so wearily gleaned on his frigid patrol for the full belly of his broken counterpart resting securely behind bars never to know the glory of sailing slowly over a snow-covered field with the temperature at zero?

One is free to suffer, free to loaf, free to choose — just free; the other is not. True, the captive did not choose his status of security. But whether a creature (human or other) voluntarily seeks such security, or is forced to accept it, the deadening consequences seem inevitable.

— The Freeman (U.S.A.)

LITTLE JACK HORNER

By Ralph Bradford

Little Jack Horner sat in a corner,
Eating his Christmas pie;
He stuck in his thumb to pull out a plum —
But instead of delighting his friends by reciting
"What a good boy am I,"
He let out a yelp and yammered for help.
His happiness perished — was banished;
For the pie that he cherished had vanished,
To float in the air like a brown-sugar moon,
Or a beckoning, orbiting pastry balloon.
And he knew with a start that the oversize tart
Was just an illusion. He never had spent
From out of his savings a single red cent
To pay for his pie; and now with his eye
Full of tears, he confronted his moment of truth —
Very painful indeed for so tender a youth.
And painfuller still for his fully-grown brother,
His uncle and aunt, and his father and mother —
That nothing is free; what you get you must buy;
That no one gets fat, however he try,
Or even comes nigh it, who limits his diet
To pie in the sky!

— From The Freeman U.S.A.

TOWARD A BETTER WORLD

"To build a better world, we must have courage to make a new start. We must clear away the obstacles with which human folly has recently encumbered our path and release the creative energy of individuals. We must create conditions favourable to progress rather than 'planning progress'.

"The guiding principle in any attempt to create a world of free men must be this: a policy of freedom for the individual is the only truly progressive policy."

—Fredrich Hayek

Book Review

THE FREE AND PROSPEROUS COMMON-WEALTH by Ludwig von Mises, translated by Ralph Raico (D. Van Nostrand Company, 207 pp., \$ 5.50). Reviewed by Percy L. Greaves, Jr.

There are right answers to our social problems, and Ludwig von Mises, truly an *economiste extraordinaire*, packs his books with them.

Back in 1927 he pictured the pitfalls ahead for nations whose governments grant privileges to the political groups that keep them in power. More than a generation ago, he foresaw that the existence of such privileges would disrupt world trade and lead to political persecutions, wars between the western powers, and bloodshed in Asia and Africa, while Russia continued to act "like a robber who lies in wait for the moment he can pounce on his victim and plunder him of his possessions."

Mises, then an Austrian citizen, wrote this book in German as a warning to all Europeans, and especially the Germans. If his book had been read, digested, and heeded by the thought leaders of that day, the world would have been spared a multitude of needless deaths. The horrors of the past cannot be undone. However, it is never too late to learn the elementary principles that whole populations must practise if men are ever to live in harmony with a continuing multiplication of human comforts. So we can be happy that Ralph Raico, a bright and promising graduate student, has made this book available in English as *The Free and Prosperous Commonwealth*.

The contents are actually better described by the English subtitle, *An Exposition of the Ideas of Classical Liberalism*. Mises writes of liberalism in its true and original meaning, the limitation of political power to the restraint, proscription, and prevention of antisocial actions which disrupt man's peaceful pursuit of happiness.

Liberalism in this sense prescribes the private ownership and control of all productive property. It holds that the private owners of such property can advance their own welfare only by offering consumers higher values than can be duplicated elsewhere for the same expenditure of funds or effort. The security of such property from theft encourages all sorts of investments in socially productive facilities. These increased investments, along with increased specialization of labor, account for the higher living standards of market societies.

Progressive societies of this type can exist only in areas where peace is preserved at the factory gates and market place. Under real liberalism, the function of government is to maintain that peace by protecting the lives and property of all who come to rely on the market for their supplies of necessities, as well as the luxuries that become the necessities of the next generation.

Unfortunately, as Mises writes in the new Preface, "the tenets of this nineteenth-century philosophy of liberalism are almost forgotten.....In the United

States 'liberal' means today a set of ideas and political postulates that in every regard are the opposite of all that liberalism meant to the preceding generations. The American self styled liberal aims at government omnipotence, is a resolute foe of free enterprise, and advocates all round planning by the authorities, i.e., socialism."

Today, most modern "liberals" think they have found a shortcut to economic prosperity — massive political action. They hold that the injustices of our world can all be corrected by the political direction of a "more equal" distribution of wealth. The first step they advocated was to levy confiscatory taxes on corporations and higher-than-average personal incomes for "redistribution" among those groups whose votes they sought. When it was found that such taxes slow down production, the next step of the self-styled "liberals" has been to even up wealth by the injection of newly created sums of money into the bank accounts and pocketbooks of those whose political support is considered necessary. These recipients are expected to spend the artificially created "legal tender" promptly and thus bring about "full employment" and a business boom.

As Mises tells us, "those who advocate equality of income distribution overlook the most important point, namely, that the total available for distribution, the annual product of social labor, is not independent of the manner in which it is divided. The fact that that product is today as great as it is.....is entirely the result of our social institutions. Only because inequality of wealth is possible in our social order, only because it stimulates everyone to produce as much as he can and at the lowest cost, does mankind today have at its disposal the.....wealth now available for consumption. Were this incentive to be destroyed, productivity would be so greatly reduced that the portion that an equal distribution would allot to each individual would be far less than what even the poorest receives today."

How can we stem the present tide of pseudo liberalism? How can we start a surge toward real liberalism? Here is the answer in the words of Mises:

"There is nothing in the world more powerful than ideologies and ideologists and only with ideas can one fight against ideas. ... Against what is stupid, nonsensical, erroneous, and evil, liberalism fights with the weapons of the mind, and not with brute force and repression. ... In a battle between force and an idea, the latter always prevails. ... The minority that desires to see its ideas triumph must strive by intellectual means to become the majority".

This little book is full of the right ideas. Unlike some of the other fundamental books of Mises, this volume is exceedingly easy to read. Those who shudder at heavy tomes will find it written in simple style and delightfully clear. If we are to avoid the complete collapse of our market society, on which each of us has become so dependent for our very means of survival, the contents of this great book should be widely read and spread.

— The Freeman

The Mind of the Nation

KAMARAJ'S NINE DAYS' WONDER

IN accordance with the resolution passed by the Congress on the basis of the Kamraj plan the Prime Minister Nehru has recommended the acceptance of the resignation of six Central Ministers and six Chief Ministers of States. The importance of this move has been largely exaggerated in the country. The Ministers have not resigned voluntarily but under the subtle pressure of a resolution. The Kamraj formula created rather an atmosphere of delirium under the influence of which offers of resignations by Union and State Ministers began to pour in like a heavy torrent. The formula did not provide an occasion for a critical examination of the factors that are eating into the vitals of the Congress Party. The problem facing the Congress is more ideological than organisational. Most of the organisational weaknesses and mutual recrimination among the leaders that have tarnished the fair name of the Congress follow from a lack of any ideological conviction of the Congress people. They have no idealism because they have no faith and no sense of a mission. Gandhism, Patelism and Nehruism have made Congress ideologically confused and at present the pragmatic considerations of power determine most of the moves of the Congress and the Congress leaders. In order to show idealism one need not quit office and join the organisational work. In these days of corruption, nepotism and negligence of duties there is enough scope for a Minister to show his idealism. The present move of the Congress is after all not intelligently conceived and it will possibly promote the interest neither of the country nor of the party. After all the whole excitement may be no more significant than a nine days' wonder.

— Radical Humanist.

News & Views

ATOM BOMB IS 'PAPER TIGER'—LIU PEKING

MR. LIU SHO-CHI, Chinese Head of State, said the atom bomb was a "paper tiger."

The New China News Agency reported this from P'yongyang, North Korea, where, it said, Mr. Liu was given a rousing welcome by 1,00,000 people.

Mr. Liu said: "What is truly powerful is the people. The decisive factor in war is man, not one or two weapons of a new type."

Mr. Liu in effect told the Soviet Union that China did not want or need Soviet nuclear protection.

He also definitely reassured Peking's stand in the dispute with Moscow, declaring that China would not betray Marxism-Leninism by becoming "revisionist."

Observers said these were the main points of what was probably the hardest-hitting public statement by a Chinese leader in the ideological row. Reports of it dominated the Press here to-day.

BRITISH LOANS ON EASIER TERMS LONDON

THE British Government announced it would help underdeveloped countries in future by giving them easier terms for loans where necessary.

THE INDIAN LIBERTARIAN

A report to Parliament (white paper) explained what Britain had done by way of loans or grants in the past three years and outlined future plans.

"The Government have now decided on several steps to ease the position of recipient nations, where their circumstances call for this.

"Hitherto, we have given loans for a maximum of 25 years, with a grace period for the repayment of principal of up to seven years.

"For the future we shall be prepared in suitable cases to make loans for periods of up to 30 years, with grace periods of up to ten years," it said.

Where the economic circumstances of the recipient country make it necessary, Britain would grant a period of complete freedom from all service charges, by granting a waiver of interest, as well as the deferment of capital payment, for seven years.

The white paper pointed out that in the distribution of aid, Britain's first responsibility was to the colonies.

"It is natural and fitting that we should continue to assist Commonwealth countries which have become independent in recent years to achieve self-sustained economies," the report added.

SINO-PAK SPY RING AGAINST INDIA

CALCUTTA: China and Pakistan drew up a plan some time ago to jointly invade India in March-April 1964. This is one of the startling revelations that have recently been available through authoritative investigation into the activities of the recently uncovered Pak espionage ring.

The data suggests that well before the Chinese invasion of India took place, Pakistan had arrived at such close understanding with Communist China that it engaged some of the best men in the Secret Service of Pakistan to secure strategic information from India to pass it on to China.

At a conference of secret service agents of Pakistan from all over the sub-continent in Rawalpindi in September 1962, mention was made by the leaders of the organisation of the appreciation China had expressed of the great services Pakistan had done it through her agents in India.

After the northern aggression and declaration of the National Emergency, some members of an Indian film unit who went to Gulmarg, Kashmir, ostensibly to take some shots in connexion with a movie, took a thorough photographic record of strategic Indian installations on the Kashmir border and made the material over to Pakistani agents for despatch to China.

REDS' HATE CAMPAIGN AGAINST INDIA

GANGTOK: The Communist Party of Nepal, at a closed door meeting held at Varanasi recently, decided to whip up anti-Indian propaganda in Nepal to wreck the growing friendly relations between the two neighbours.

King Mahendra's State Visit to India and the warm reception he received from the Indian Government and people have been viewed with growing concern by Nepal Communists.

Nepal Reds are reported to have chalked out a detailed programme that includes distribution of anti-Indian propaganda on a mass scale. The Nepal Communist Party is dominated by pro-Peking elements and Communist leaders are constantly in touch with Chinese strategists who have entered Nepal in the guise of technicians.

Mahendra's visit to India was viewed by Peking as a defeat for her policies, and China is disgraced by Arve Samad Foundation, Chennai and Bangalore. In this connection, Peking has chalked out a double-edged plan of aid and veiled threats, hoping "stick and carrot" tactics will prove more effective than blandishments alone.

But they were wise enough to realise the impracticability of self-pulsion, and they SCRAPPED IT.

The Central Government appointed Niyogi Committee's (1959) findings (Prophetic warning) on Prohibition. Given below is an eye-opener for those blinded by power:—

MENON GUNNING FOR CHAVAN

The Kamraj Plan, instead of being a solution, is creating more problems. Far from cleaning up the dirt in the Congress Party, it is creating more and more intrigues.

The Big Game in Delhi is to reach the Prime Minister's ears; these ears seem to be shifting the balance of political power in Delhi from week to week.

Right now Mr. Menon is fast moving back into Mr. Nehru's favour, though in an unobtrusive way. His latest move is reported to be to prejudice the Prime Minister with regard to Defence Minister Y. B. Chavan. Menon would like to see Chavan 'released' from the Cabinet.

OBVIOUS REASON: What little Chavan revealed to Parliament with regard to the findings of the NEFA enquiry has damaged Menon.

Nehru wanted to shield Menon on. Chavan naturally had to tell the truth.

Menon and Malaviya have been meeting the Prime Minister and they have been trying to din into his ear that Chavan's statement has harmed the reputation of the Government!! In the lobbies a whispering campaign has been started by the "leftists" against Yeshwantrao Chavan.

WHO WILL SUCCEED NEHRU NOW?

Whether the wholesale slaughter of senior Cabinet Ministers and State Chief Ministers would be able to rejuvenate the ailing body of the Congress or not remains to be seen, but one thing has clearly emerged out of this purge, and that is the end of confusion prevailing in the public mind as to the likely successor of Prime Minister Nehru.

All those who had ever aspired to succeed Pandit Nehru or who were considered as likely candidates for the Prime Minister's office have been made to stand in the street, incidentally making way for Shrimati Indira Gandhi to succeed her illustrious father as the future Prime Minister of India, writes the Observer of New Delhi.

ACHIEVEMENT OF 16 YEARS

The National Sample Survey of India has estimated that 60 million Indians exist on an income of annas 5 per day, 40 million are condemned to "live" on annas 4 a day, and 20 million earn no more than annas 2 a day. Thus 120 million, i.e. 12 crores of Indians out of a total of 44 crores lead an existence no better than hell.

Dear Editor

SCRAP PROHIBITION

Whether you believe it or not, the experiment of Prohibition is a complete failure in this District and elsewhere in India, as it did in Russia and the United States of America.

"To pursue Prohibition in the direction in which we have been doing is to pursue a phantom, a veritable will o'wisp, which is destined to lead to disaster."

"On a full consideration of various criticisms and suggestions, we are unable to discover any effective methods by which total Prohibition can achieve eradication of the drink evil or even hope to combat it with the hope of eventual extinction" adds the report.

"This is so, because Prohibition has to struggle against human nature itself and can hope to win NOT BY SENTIMENTALLY DEFYING IT, BUT BY RATIONALLY UNDERSTANDING ITS WAYS".

Gandhiji wanted to introduce Prohibition with the good intention of ameliorating the living conditions of the masses, but in actual practice Prohibition has done much harm and demoralised the country. If Gandhiji were to live to-day he would have certainly advised the government to withdraw prohibition.

Before the introduction of Prohibition only 5% to 10% of the male population used to drink, but now more than 65% are drinking. Many women and children (because of their close association in the process of distillation and sale) have become new addicts. This will give you an idea of the benefits derived from Prohibition.

In what way are we in this District better than the people of Bangalore, where there is no Prohibition? If Prohibition was a measure for the good of the people how can you account for the large number of people suffering from heart, Lung and kidney diseases having consumed the illicit liquor distilled with the injurious ingredients like Sulphate of Ammonia and Battery Cells, etc.?

Rich people including many Ministers are granted permits for drink on health grounds, and the poor, found drunk are arrested and imprisoned. Is this not Autocracy?

Ours is a Democracy, and not a Totalitarian State, and there is no place for impositions and compulsions. Without individual liberty and dignity, Democracy is meaningless.

Just because the Prohibition policy finds a place in our Constitution, habit of drinking cannot be interpreted as a crime. Habit of drink is one of our birthrights. Our Constitution is of our making and the ruling party has amended it already 16 times to suit their selfish purpose, and why not one more amendment in the larger interest of the country as a whole?

Prohibition is not a small matter to be brushed aside by those in power (elected by us to serve us and selected by us to Govern us) but it is a matter affecting the entire Nation and national health and well-being of the present and future generations. If the present ruling party does not make up its mind to scrap Prohibition, even at the cost of sacrificing the party prestige the credit of saving the people from this disaster will go to some others in the very near future.

Mangalore

R. K. Sallian

ANNOUNCEMENT

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Page

EDITORIAL :

The Two-pronged Red Drive Towards The
Indo-Pak Sub-continent

2

The Danger Of A Vacuum In Social Thought

5

By M. A. Venkata Rao

The March Of Fascism In India

7

By M. N. Tholal

Democracy Or Jungle Law ?

9

By Seth W. Howard

DELHI LETTER :

Mr. Nehru And The Rule Of Law

10

Liberté

By Lilian Harden

12

Book-Review

13

The Mind Of The Nation

14

News And Views

14

Dear Editor

15

PRICE
25
NAYA PAISA

The Two-Pronged Red Drive Towards Indo-Pak Sub-Continent

INDIA's attainment of freedom was no doubt accelerated by the partitioning of the country on the basis of Hindu and Muslim majority regions. But as expected by some far-sighted statesmen of those days, this Partition has now brought its own Nemesis on both Bharat and Pakistan. The chief argument in its favour was that the Hindu-Muslim feud would be, once and for all, buried many fathoms deep in both these countries and that would help them grow and prosper spiritually and materially in a peaceful atmosphere of mutual assistance and co-operation. But the course of events over all these years after independence, has belied these expectations. The Partition in fact, has not been able to solve any major problem affecting both the countries. The disputes between the two countries such as settlement of debts, river-water distribution, boundary disputes, railway and air communications, immigration and emigration of populations, are multiplying and some even baffle any peaceful solution as in the case of the Kashmir problem.

INTO THE ARMS OF THE RED COUNTRIES

This tension between India and Pakistan is mounting to a crescendo and is driving Pakistan into the arms of China and making a common cause with the latter against India. It is significant that reports of heavy deployment of Pakistan soldiers on the Assam and Kashmir fronts are coming close on the heels of the previous reports of extensive massing of Chinese troops in NEFA and Ladakh. The dangerous portent of these events is unmistakable.

If Pakistan's conduct in the Kashmir affair is anything but fair and reasonable, India could not be said to have acquitted herself creditably either. India Government's Foreign Policy has been largely influenced and shaped by its keen desire to retain Kashmir in India, when, at the present juncture, its chief concern should have been with the problem of warding off Chinese aggression on India. It is curious that instead of agreeing to a peaceful settlement of the Kashmir question through arbitration or mediation of the democratic powers, India Government is relying heavily on the support of Russia in this matter at the UNO and on the undemocratic exercise of her vetoing power in the Security Council. It is obvious that Russia is exhibiting such pro-fuse sympathies for India on this issue out of ulterior motives. It is her intention to keep this area perpetually disturbed so that U.S.A. might not be enabled to further build up her anti-communist bases in Pakistan and so that India might not come closer to Western democracies and increase her military strength against the Chinese attack.

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THE GRAND STRATEGY OF WORLD COMMUNISM

Not only that. Mr. Khrushchev has even gone to the length of assuring India that the moment the word goes forth to him for aid to Kashmir against any foreign invasion he will come to her rescue. Which means he is not unwilling to spread Russian tentacles as far as Kashmir, across Pakistan and then retire from the field after leaving the whole territory to be administered by Nehru Government which, by that time, will have turned to the extreme 'Left' as dictated by Mr. Khrushchev.

China on her own part, has already committed herself to defend East Pakistan in the event of India's invasion of that territory, after over-running NEFA and Assam and if possible a major portion of Western Bengal and leave its administration to be carried on by a puppet Government composed of Peking patriots who will take orders from Peking.

This is the grand design well-planned years ago, by world communist movement, of a pincer-like movement of which India is to be the focal point. The rape of Tibet was the first step in this direction. The nibbling away of about 12,000 square miles of Indian territory in Ladakh by China was the next step. And the massive invasion of Ladakh and NEFA by China in October last, which added another 15,000 square miles to the Chinese Empire, was also undertaken in furtherance of the same design. And Indo-Pak conflict would afford both the Russians and the Chinese a golden opportunity to finally complete this encircling movement so skillfully directed against the Indo-Pak sub-continent.

While this gigantic two-pronged drive towards this sub-continent is being carried out according to plan by both Russia and China, these two countries are at the same time trying to create a false impression among the Leftist wishful thinkers like Nehru in India and passion-blind Muslim leaders of Pakistan, that Russia and China are opposed to each other and are even prepared to back opposite sides in the Indo-Pak conflict. These leaders refuse to take a hint from the latest pronouncements of Mao and Khrushchev that Sino-Russian military pact stands, despite the ideological differences between the two countries, and Russia will not tolerate any foreign invasion of China. In the meantime, if a military conflict should break out between India and Pakistan, both China and Russia, true to their communist principles, would not hesitate to fish in the troubled waters and cut off bigger slices of Indo-Pak territories, under the pretext of defending them against the invaders. The only pre-con-

dition for the successful working of this Agency. But the Judges and the Government will be that Western democracies keep themselves out of this war, getting disgusted with the obstinate stand of both India and Pakistan on the Kashmir question and also with their wobbling and vacillating foreign policies.

WAKE UP BETIMES TO THE RED MENACE

It is very tragic, therefore, that both Indian and Pakistan leaders easily fall for the sedulous propaganda carried on by both Moscow and Peking Governments and also their satellites both in India and Pakistan, that the Western democracies are imposing on these two countries a settlement of Kashmir question which will suit their imperialist designs and should refuse to come to terms with each other as advised by their democratic friends. On the other hand, they are increasingly looking either to China or Russia for support of their conflicting claims over Kashmir. The democratic elements of both Pakistan and India at least should now realise that Western colonialism is disappearing before their very eyes and America does not hold an inch of land on the Asian soil. In fact, the Asian nations are now faced with the great menace to their security and freedom from other quarters, i.e., expansionism of Russia and China. If the people both in Pakistan and in India do not wake up betimes to this Red danger and compel their leaders to compose their differences amicably and present a united front to Red imperialism with the aid and support of the democratic countries of the West, they will, before long, be doomed to live and die like cursed curs under the cruel whip of the Russian and Chinese Slave-drivers whom they had mistaken for Benefactors and Liberators.

JUDICIARY MUST ASSERT ITSELF

Justice Gajendragadkar of the Supreme Court did well in entering a vehement protest in his address at the Centenary celebrations of the Bombay Advocates' Association against the scant respect shown by the Government for the findings judicially arrived at, by Judges appointed under the Commission of Enquiry Act. He complained against the growing tendency of the Government to go by the notes put up by executive officials on the judicial findings. More often than not, such official notes recommending or rejecting the Judicial Committee's findings tend to follow closely the ministerial views on the matter under enquiry and are, so to say, 'cooked' and pre-arranged. The brusque manner in which the Panshet Enquiry Committee's findings were rejected, has not only mocked such judicial enquiry but has shown a lamentable lack of faith in 'The Rule of Law' on the part of the rulers of the Bombay State. Some days back, it was reported that Judges had been therefore seriously considering whether in such circumstances, they should, at all in future undertake to conduct such probes only to find their findings rejected unceremoniously. Of late the tendency of the Highest in the Government circles, is to publicly criticise and even to condemn

the Judges and the Government hold enough to give findings against the Ministers and other governmental dignitaries. Mr. Nehru the Prime Minister, set the ball rolling by severely castigating Justice Bose for his conclusions in the Mundhra Enquiry. It is no wonder that lesser lights in the Government should faithfully follow their leader.

The Judges should not therefore take this affront to their dignity and position lying down. They should bring pressure to bear on the Government to observe the well-established convention that normally the judicial findings should be accepted by the Government. This pressure could be exerted in the way suggested by Justice Gajendragadkar in his speech. He cited his own experience of Bank Award Commission which undertook the onerous duty, only on the clear understanding that its findings should be accepted by the Government. If this should be made a precondition by all Judges in such enquiries, then Law would have some scope to discharge its dynamic function in a Democratic State to which Justice Gajendragadkar referred and would act as a wholesome check on the abuse of authority by Ministers and bureaucratic officials to the detriment of the Rule of Law and Civil Liberties of the people.

THE NEHRU RAJ PLAN

Poor Mrs. Sucheta Kripalani is having a hell

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of time in forming a workable team of Ministers in the Uttar Pradesh! Mr. Nehru, the Prime Minister, claims the fullest right to have a cabinet of his own choice at the Centre. But he denies the same privilege to this Chief Minister of a near-autonomous State. Under the Constitution and the Parliamentary Conventions followed in Western democratic countries, it is for the Head of a Ministry to choose his own Minister. Mrs. Kripalani was therefore perfectly justified in making a public grievance against the Congress High Command which today practically means Nehru alone, that there is too much interference from the top leaders in her work of choosing her own Ministers.

Not that Mr. Nehru does not know the implications of his interference in this matter. In the Madhya Pradesh, Bihar and Orissa, the Chief Ministers elected by the Congress Legislative Party were pro-Nehru and therefore the principle of homogeneity was put into force in forming the Ministries. But Mrs. Kripalani's case stands on a different footing. She unfortunately happens to be the wife of Acharya Kripalani, the formidable opponent of Mr. Nehru. Besides, she has been elected with the support of Mr. Gupta the Ex-Chief Minister on whom the 'Kamraj Operation' was forcibly performed by Mr. Nehru, whether Mr. Gupta willed it or not. Mr. Nehru therefore thought of nipping this growing revolt against him among Congressmen in the bud. But he was disappointed to see that in his own province he was successfully challenged by independent-minded Congressmen like Mr. Gupta. He is now furious and is employing even questionable means of harassing Mrs. Kripalani and her group. He is secretly instigating the Tripathi group to demand of Mrs. Kripalani adequate and effective representation in the Cabinet. Mr. Tripathi is not satisfied with mere representation being given to the dissidents. But the choice of persons to represent the group and the portfolios to be assigned to them must all be left to Mr. Tripathi. Even the Chief Minister's right to appoint the Secretaries to the Government is not being conceded. Mr. Tripathi claims that he is doing all this mischief to uphold the prestige of Mr. Nehru. And instead of sternly putting Mr. Tripathi's anti-democratic antics Mr. Nehru seems to be mightily enjoying the fun of it all.

'All Power to Nehruites' and 'Sacrifice and Hell to others' are the inspiring slogans with which the Nehru Raj is being ushered into this country.

THE CONGRESS 'STALIN'

The so-called 'progressive' press is pouring high encomiums on the qualities of the head and heart of Kamraj Nadar. Though not educated, he is described to be a man of keen insight and broad vision. Though not properly initiated and instructed into the principles of Liberty and Democracy, he is extolled as a born Democrat, because he is a man of

THE INDIAN LIBERTARIAN

the masses'. We now know from the same Leftist press that the office of an administrator does not suit his special genius so much as the office of the Congress President. With 'this man of the masses' at the helm of Congress affairs, the Presidential 'gadi' is expected to come into its own as a rival to that of the Prime Minister. And when Mr. Nehru will be no more occupying his present office, the Prime Minister's post will dwindle in its importance as compared with the office of the President.

This will fit in with the spirit of Kamaraj Plan which is hailed as a great gift to the nation from this Leader. The Kamraj Plan has already reduced the parliamentary form of Government in India to a farce. Ministers are appointed, removed and re-appointed at the sweet will and pleasure of 'The Leader of Leaders'. We are fast approaching a stage when the President of the Congress, hard-headed, severe and stern, with a conscience not sufficiently cultivated so as to prick him in committing a political sin, will act ruthlessly like Stalin of Russia, in putting down all opposition first within the Congress and then within the country and also the Government. The cult of the worship of the leader of the masses is fast spreading its net over the body-politic of the country. Democracy will be first turned into Mobocracy under this new leadership before it gives way to the undisguised dictatorship of a party-caucus. The intelligent, the wise and the enlightened will no more be allowed to express their opinions freely. If Mr. Nehru's Socialism has already half killed democracy, Kamraj Plan's Peoples' Centralism will simply finish it. What a fall for the Congress, once presided over by such intellectual giants and political thinkers like Dadabhoi, Mehta, Gokhale, Tilak, Motilal Nehru, C. R. Das and Subhas Chandra Bose? What has come over our intelligentsia that it should also join in the chorus of praise and panegyric about this man who, till yesterday, was not known outside his province and whose only qualifications for the Congress Presidentship seem to be his demagoguery and agitational skill and ability?

—D. M. Kulkarni.

FOOD FOR THOUGHT

"I disagree with the view that nationalisation or even public ownership is the be-all and end-all, the ultimate first principle and aim of Socialism."

Late Mr. Gaitskill, M. P.

"It is no good just bashing away at nationalisation like a dinosaur. We all know what happened to him. He had a large body. I am sure a large heart, but he had a pin head, and he is extinct." (Scarborough, 6th October 1960)

Mrs. Eirene White, M. P. (East Flint)

The Danger of a Vacuum in Social Thought

By M. A. VENKATA RAO

When the Socialists are criticised, they challenge us with the query — Will you surrender to capital? This is the vacuum. We should be able to reply on the basis of a social philosophy of our own based on Liberty and Progress that to criticise communism is not to accept capitalism.

NATURE, it is said, abhors a vacuum. So in social affairs. Social life too abhors a vacuum. If leaders do not have a well-thought out policy to meet a particular need of the times, other elements in society will rush in and occupy the vacant area with their own nostrums and assume the direction of affairs.

Bloodshed cannot reconstruct society. It can destroy and if it limits itself and subordinates itself to leaders with ideas and capacity, it can help to initiate an era of new life.

The Russian Revolution would not have assumed the lineaments of a New Society with its own ideology and principles of reconstruction if communist ideology had not been crystallised and propagated by Russian communists for generations before.

The late venerable Babu Bhagwan Das, for many years professor of Indian philosophy in *The Benares Hindu College and University*, often tried to elicit from Mahatma Gandhi the need to educate the people in the fundamentals of democratic government, fundamental rights, the conventions of democracy, qualifications of ministers and so on. The Mahatma was unresponsive and was absorbed in his constructive programme of khadi and abolition of the drink evil, withdrawal of lawyers from courts and of students from schools and colleges, cottage industries and so on.

The result was that the Indian intelligentsia became a helpless prey to foreign ideas (mainly Leftist and communist) which occupied the empty space in their minds. This was the origin of the Congress Socialist Party and of the birth and growth of the Communist Party of India.

The gravity of the outcome for Indian progress after independence is indicated by the automatic way in which socialist and communist ideas were embodied in legislation from the very inception of free government like the Zamindari Abolition Acts.

The Congress party appointed a committee on agrarian reforms but it formulated its recommendations in the image of socialist and communist land reforms, without any attempt to study local conditions. There was no attempt at an independent assessment of the situation and of any search for an alternative way of solving the problem.

For, this way of transferring land to the tiller by simple confiscation of property destroyed the fundamental rights of the democratic constitution even before it was promulgated in 1950. Socialism queered the pitch for democracy from the very beginning and played into the hands of international communism.

What M. N. Roy and his colleagues could not accomplish (and what Gandhi wished to accomplish in a more constructive voluntary way consistent with democracy) was *rushed into law* under terms that put communism under the effective drives of the new Constitution. The Karachi Resolution came alive without scrutiny by thinkers of alternative and more constructive ways.

When the 17th Constitution Amendment Bill was introduced in the May session, (1963), the Law Member of the Cabinet had no better defence of the proposal than to repeat parrot-like the communist slogan of "land to the tiller."

There is ample evidence of the better way in nineteenth century Europe for the possibility of giving land to the tiller without liquidating the land-owners in such a whole-sale way. Denmark, Holland, Germany and Belgium are all countries in which the landless labourers have been given land (on long term credit of thirty and forty years) unoccupied government land at first. Later, lands from owners of thousands of acres have been purchased for small peasants as and when they wanted them. So that today we find *no landless labourers* in these countries and *class legislation has been avoided*.

Also, co-operative ways have been introduced for purposes of joint purchase and sale, credit and investment to secure the advantages of large scale operations without depriving the individual peasant of his individual ownership. These examples and successes were *not* studied and marshalled by Congress leaders or by the intelligentsia in and out of parliament. The handful of thinkers who ventured to mention this line of thought were ignored.

The challenging report of the Co-operative Institute in Delhi was silenced by officialisation.

The demurrer of official co-operative Registrars could not be asserted against official policy handicapped by their official position as salaried persons.

The Big Press was, too complacent to Official Policy on account of its Big Business ownership that could not afford to antagonise Government and Congress and on account of the easy gong socialism of the editorial staff. Socialism became and still in large part remains, the fashionable stunt of the newspaper elite.

Hence the simple assertion of the Law Member that the 17th Amendment is necessary for giving land to the tiller assumes the colour and force of an axiom! The end is desirable. This is the *only* means. *Therefore*, so goes the ignorant and fateful syllogism, *the amendment is right* — though it may destroy the fundamental right of property!

Even granting that land should be taken from the owners, (most of whom are more or less in the same position as the tenants, often worse, for they have to pay taxes and to invest moneys), no one asks why the Government should *not* pay full market rate compensation? If this delays operations, the delay is necessary. Also, the *present proposal too delays* final reforms till the tenant can pay government i.e., *twenty years or more!* Till then, the government will be the sole landlord, as it has become the sole zamindar, in U.P. and Bihar and Bengal! The Government takes the zamindar's levy as well as the land revenue paid by the tenant and has its land income trebled. But we have not heard of any benefit that the peasant or agriculture has derived from all these precious land reforms, unless it be the vast access of patronage it has brought to the ruling party!

Still, there is nobody of alternative opinion in the country sketching effectively before the people and parliament and intelligentsia generally, better in every respect as reform and as social justice and as agricultural progress!

There is thus a vacuum in regard to agricultural reform including land tenure laws. The result is that communist proposals accepted uncritically by Shri Nehru before Swaraj days have occupied the vacuum.

So too in the matter of industrial and commercial policy-making. The policy in this regard pursued by the Nehru government is simple. Follow Soviet Russia! Follow Stalin's Five Year Plans one after another without basing the next on the results of the previous one!

Prof. Mahalanobis was in Bangalore on the eve of the introduction of the Second Five Year Plan. At a gathering of distinguished administrators and big business men, including former Dewans, he explained his Plan Frame ideas.

An ex-Dewan (who had made a name for sound and progressive administration even in wartime, leaving a surplus in spite of rapid industrialisation), asked the professor what were the results of the

First Plan and how he proposed to remedy any shortcomings revealed in its working.

The Professor replied that he knew nothing of the First Plan and cared less! He was only concerned with the Second Plan.

In this spirit, we are already being regaled in the daily press with proposals for the *Fourth* and even the *Fifth Plan!* It appears that each Plan is self-contained and does not propose to incorporate the lessons of earlier Plan-implementations! Can anything be more happy-go-lucky, carefree, Olympian and unrelated to hard facts and sound experience than all this hectic imitation policy-making?

In spite of this, there is as yet no alternative body of thought with concrete proposals before the public!

The Swatantra party is laying the foundations for such an alternative body of thought.

The R. L. Foundation with its journal Indian Libertarian and related publications have been exceptional in devoting themselves to developing an alternative stream of thought and policy. Some day it will draw attention and be useful for policy-making.

Professor Morton White in his book *Social Thought in America* points out how even Dewey, Holmes, Beard, Robinson and Thorstein Veblen did not develop concrete proposals as an alternative to communist or other extreme theories of radicals. The result was, as he points out, that American liberals fell a prey to communist thought and surrendered democratic liberties for the sake of planning and reform and progress.

Fu Mu-Feng in his substantial book *the Wilting of the Hundred Flowers* also points to a similar result in China. He says that the intelligentsia before the advent of Mao did not develop a scheme of progress and a picture of society and policy constructive and law abiding, to form the basis of administration under Chiang Kai Shek. The outcome was their surrender to communism when it came as the only movement with a clear and distinct message, finished and ready for application in all aspects of life!

When the socialists are criticised, they challenge us with the query — will you *surrender to capital?* *This is the vacuum.* We should be able to reply on the basis of a social philosophy of our own based on liberty and progress that *to criticise communism* is not to accept capitalism.

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The March Of Fascism In India

By M. N. Tholal

The unquestioned supremacy of Mr. Nehru's leadership, already brought about in the centre through the implementation of the Kamaraj Plan, is being made to spread all over the country, and we shall doubtless see Fascism condemned more and more severely, by no other than Mr. Nehru himself, as it spreads its tentacles throughout the land.

At a Press Conference on October 9 Mr. Nehru emphasised that cabinets in the states had to be representatives of the entire party and not just of any particular group, that there was no question of ruling out the minority group from the ministry as this would encourage the formation of disgruntled groups, that he wanted the cabinets to work as good teams and not as separate groups, and that, in the final analysis, it is the Congress High Command that decides. This is an unexceptionable attitude. The most important part of this statement refers to the desirability of cabinets working as good teams and it is this point of view that seems to have been lost sight of in the formation of the U.P. Cabinet. This is borne out by the statement of the leader of the U.P. dissidents: "there is no question of agreement with Mrs. Sucheta Kripalani".

The implications of this observation are obvious and the wisdom of the inclusion of such a dissident in the Cabinet is very questionable, having regard to the desirability of cabinets working as good teams. The responsibility for team work devolves on every member of the cabinet and not on the chief minister alone, for, with all the goodwill in the world, a chief minister cannot have team work if one or more of his cabinet colleagues publicly give expression to such sentiments as "there is no question of agreement with Mrs. Sucheta Kripalani," the Chief Minister!

There appears to have been a tussle for leadership in the U.P. between the Prime Minister, who constitutes the Congress High Command, and the ex-Chief Minister, Mr. Chandra Bhan Gupta, who had one of his devout followers elected as leader of the U.P. Congress Legislature Party who on her election declared that she would be guided by Mr. Gupta. This appears to have been too much for the Congress High Command, which therefore felt called upon to encourage the dissidents almost to the point of working against solidarity in the U.P. cabinet. For, it is being argued, the statement that the leader of the U.P. dissidents made, derogatory as it was to the position of the Chief Minister could not have been made without consciousness of support from higher quarters. Indeed, it is being freely asserted, and rightly, that the statement alone should have disqualified him for inclusion in the cabinet. Mr. Nehru appears to be following the policy of his Master, Gandhi, of reducing others to zero and seems to have succeeded at least in the first round in U.P. after the installation of the new Chief Minister.

Mr. Nehru is right when he says there is no question of ruling out the minority group from the ministry as this would encourage the formation of disgruntled groups. But, obviously, in the interest of team work, it should have been left to the Chief Minister to pick and choose from the minority group such persons as she thought would be able to co-operate with her whole-heartedly. To thrust on her persons who publicly declare "there is no question of agreement" with her is to promote dissidence and encourage the formation of disgruntled groups both in the majority and the minority groups. After all, dissidence is natural among the have-nots and to promote it, howsoever indirectly, is to try to fish in troubled waters.

It is true that, in the final analysis, it is the Congress High Command that decides. But is it part of the job of the Congress High Command to thrust on a Chief Minister men whose reluctance to co-operate with her is publicly declared? That is the question. Instead of allowing the leader of the majority group to split the minority group, if necessary, to enlarge the majority group—that was clearly her right — what has been done amounts to an attempt to reduce the majority group and increase the minority group by throwing the weight of the Congress High Command on the side of the minority group. This cannot be considered impartial conduct by any means and Mrs. Sucheta Kripalani was right when she complained that the Congress High Command was interfering with her choice of the cabinet.

A more sensitive person in the place of Mrs. Kripalani would have resigned. She must have been prepared for it when she publicly complained against the Congress High Command, but the latter appears to have mixed cajolery with firmness to bring about the desired result of direct supremacy of the Congress High Command. This is the kind of fascism which has been rearing its head in India. The unquestioned supremacy of Mr. Nehru's leadership, already brought about in the Centre through the tortuous implementation of the Kamaraj Plan, is being made to spread all over the country, and we shall doubtless see fascism condemned more and more severely by no other than Mr. Nehru himself, as it spreads its tentacles throughout the land.

Mr. Nehru repeated at the Press Conference that the manner in which Dr. Jivraj Mehta was sent away was unfortunate. In the interest of de-

mocracy and to educate the people in the processes of democracy, Mr. Nehru might have amplified his cryptic statement. How was it unfortunate? The resignation of Dr. Mehta came about in the only democratic manner known to the world. When a chief minister loses his hold over the majority of his party in the legislature, he should of his own accord resign and not wait for the majority against him to display its animosity. What made Dr. Mehta disregard the feelings of the majority of the Congress legislators in Gujarat was perhaps his hope of support from the Centre which he thought, would help him tide over the crisis. But the leaders of Gujarat at the Centre were too democratically minded to try to suppress the majority and were unwilling to come to his help. There was in any case nothing unfortunate, from the democratic point of view, in the manner of Dr. Mehta's exit. Apparently Dr. Mehta is a favourite of the Prime Minister. The latter therefore did not like his departure. In democratic institutions there is all the difference in the world between majority and minority, and the wishes of the minority cannot and should not be made to prevail over those of the majority. It is always for the minority within a party to accommodate its views to those of the majority and to try to convert the majority to its point of view.

KING KAIRON

By the time this appears in print Prime Minister Nehru would have given his verdict on Chief Minister Kairon. In reply to questions on the Supreme Court strictures on Mr. Kairon in a recent case, Mr. Nehru said he could not at the moment discuss in detail all the constitutional and legal aspects of the judgment, but he maintained that the Supreme Court's views about law were supreme and that law had to be obeyed. He added he did attach a great deal of value to the moral and ethical aspect of anything that may be done in public affairs. That is a heartening statement. But when he was asked why he was not instituting a judicial inquiry into the charges against Mr. Kairon, especially when Opposition leaders were prepared to face full consequences for making the charges, Mr. Nehru said he was not quite sure of these leaders taking all the consequences of their action. It is not, however, a question merely of "these leaders taking all the consequences of their action". For, as every one knows, they can be made to take all the consequences of their action. So Mr. Nehru's doubts about their *bona fides* in the matter have no bearing on the issue.

Mr. Nehru went on to say that the whole case unfortunately was decided on one side and the other side did not appear, adding "maybe they are at fault". He should have more properly said that the other side did not choose to appear. If the other side did not appear knowing the case was on, the only conclusion to draw is that they knew they had no case. Asked why the Prime Minister should praise Mr. Kairon, Mr. Nehru said, "I propose to go on praising him because I hold a high opinion

about him whether it prejudices in any matter or not I cannot help it." A correspondent reminded him; "Judges keep mum when they hold inquiries". Not only that. When judges have such strong feelings for one of the parties to a dispute they refuse to try the case. Will not Mr. Nehru's high opinion of Mr. Kairon, which he cannot even keep to himself during an inquiry against him, prejudice his verdict? That is the question being asked. It is only human that it should. His verdict will give the answer. One thing is clear. Mr. Nehru has made out a very strong case against himself as a judge in the matter and for instituting a judicial inquiry into the charges against Mr. Kairon. Whether he realises it or not is a different matter.

Millions In Misery In China

MOSCOW: Peking policy of "leap forward" and communes had disorganised the already weak Chinese economy to such an extent that millions of people "are faced with the problem of starvation."

This question has been made in the strongest criticism yet of the Chinese leaders' "dangerous" experiments by the Soviet economist, Mr. V. Maslennikov, in an article in "Sovetskaya Torgovlya"

"Principle Discarded"

Analysing the reverses of the economy since 1958, the article said the Chinese leaders disregarded the principle of material incentives, of payments according to work done, and changed over to wage-levelling in their people's committees.

"Our party realised that this was a road of dangerous and harmful experiments, a road of disregarding economic laws and experience gained by other socialist countries."

The article said that the Chinese leaders turned a deaf ear to the Soviet leaders against embarking on isolated economic development and bypassing the whole stages of construction of a new society.

"Time and facts have left nothing of the breath-taking plans of the Chinese leaders. Crude blast furnaces, the construction of which cost tremendous sums of money, produced steel unusable for industry. All these furnaces were abandoned in a year. The output level of basic industrial items has destroyed one-third compared with the 1957-59 figure."

"Similar failures awaited the Chinese leaders in agriculture. In 1961-62, the gross grain crop constituted 150 to 160 million tons which was fewer than the 1957 figure."

The Soviet press has lately been publishing highly critical articles on the failure of the Chinese leaders' "peasant socialism" and ascribing their adventurism to "deep-rooted petty bourgeois prejudices of national egoism and national narrow-mindedness of agrarian communities in the backward countries."

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DEMOCRACY OR JUNGLE LAW?

by Seth W. Howard.

When Mr. K. Rama Rao (deceased) and editor of "National Herald" accused Mr. Ledley, Jailor of Lucknow Jail in an editorial captioned "Jungle Law," for maladministration in the Lucknow Jail, Mr. Ledley hauled him in the court. This happened before independence. But now when our high officials, administrators and ministers are accused of maladministration and corrupt practices, seldom any one of them has the courage to challenge his accusers in the court for defamation. Why? The reason is obvious.

Some Instances

A mali of the State hospital, Balrampur has not received his arrears of pay and Dearness Allowance for more than five years. And notwithstanding the lapse of more than eleven months, his appeal to the Director of Medical and Health Services, Uttar Pradesh, Lucknow against his premature retirement by the Civil Surgeon, Gonda has to this day been not acknowledged, what to say about disposal! The poor man's reminders, numbering half a dozen in this connection, have totally been ignored by the said Barra Sahib! Payment of a contractor for work done by him is held up, and he is harassed for obvious reason, which is no secret. His representations to the District Engineer, P.W.D., Gonda have proved futile.

The case of a Headmistress of a Municipal Girl's School, Balrampur is lingering in the office of the Secretary to Education (B) Department, U.P. Government for about two years without any decision. Such delaying tactics are apparently used to wreck the victims morally and physically. These are three cases out of many. To expect justice or fair dealings from these officers is like asking for the moon. And when such cases of high-handedness and injustices are brought to the notice of the ministers concerned, they too take no action. This encourages the corrupt officers.

Mr. Jai Prakash Narain once observed—"There is no democracy today. The Congress Government have established a reign of terror in the country by promulgating acts and ordinances blacker than the black acts of the British Regime."

These black acts have increased sufferings and miseries of the poor prodigiously.

Soon after Independence Mr. Nehru assured us to hang a blackmarketeer and a corrupt officer by the next pole. He also assured us justice to individuals and groups in a democratic country like India. Has he done so? Whither is the democracy of which he spoke so proudly? On the contrary he sees all kinds of evils in the members of other political parties, but none in his own. Talking about the misdeeds of his party, he seems to bury his head in the sand, like an ostrich. He hears nothing, he sees nothing wrong and he finds nothing wrong with them.

Victimization of Innocents

Mr. H. V. Iyenger, Secretary of Foreign Affairs in the British Regime affirmed..... "The British forged a remarkable administrative machinery in the country. The services of the country were well organised and well disciplined and did their job within the limits set by political policy, conscientiously and competently. Political changes took place since 1919, but irrespective of these the British saw that integrity of the service was well maintained. One could speak frankly through official files and except in rare cases, there was no victimization.

Can Mr. Nehru boast of or call for a similar administrative machinery? In fact, the Congress since independence has reversed the entire structure for the worst. Victimization of innocent employees has become the order of the day. An officer who wishes to bring in his own favourite starts finding fault with one of his subordinates, and when he gets an opportunity, he dismisses him on flimsy excuses and appoints his own man. Even the Employment Exchange Officers are not free from corrupt practices.

I can go on multiplying examples to show how administrative machinery under the Congress regime stinks with corruption, vindictiveness and injustices of the worst types. And unless Mr. Nehru sees the facts in their true perspective, the tottering structure of Congress administration would collapse sooner or later. The harping on past glories that Congress can alone deliver the goods would not sustain it. To be more precise, the prophecy—"Thou was weighed in a balance and was found wanting," should come true.

THE PATH TO COMMUNISM

According to *The Economist*, "Public housing programmes and some big housing contracts were the main cause of the unusually high level of new orders obtained by contractors in the third quarter of 1962. These totalled £526m. The increase in public investment, which made up nearly half the total, easily offset the continued decline in orders from private developers for industrial building."

The government has learnt the lesson that Keynes taught so assiduously, namely, that when private investment falters, employment should be maintained by public works. Thus we are faced with the spectacle of a government which deliberately causes a depression because of gold scarcity, and then screws taxes out of us to finance public works in order to provide employment. The funds thus taxed from private industry further depress those industries that have survived the credit squeeze. It is lamentable, and benefits only the Communist propagandists.

— The Individualist
(England)

Mr. Nehru And The Rule Of Law

(From Our Correspondent)

THE Kamaraj Plan has proved a blessing in disguise not only for Prime Minister Nehru but also for Mr. Shamsuddin of Kashmir. An unknown man till yesterday, today he is Prime Minister of Kashmir, in many respects the most important state in the country. Kashmir has so far provided the most amusing example of the implementation of the Kamaraj-as-amended-by-Nehru Plan. Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad's first and natural inclination was to keep the premiership in the family and Bakhshi Abdul Rashid was tipped for the premiership, while opposition to Education Minister Sadiq was engineered by his loyal supporters. It appears there was some opposition in New Delhi to such a blatant attempt to keep all power in the family and Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad gave in, only to instal a puppet in his place.

This faith in puppets, it should perhaps be conceded in all fairness, he has imbibed from his gurus — Gandhi and Nehru — although there are some students of psychology who maintain that it is part of the instinct of self-preservation and does not need any imbibing from any guru, howsoever great. It is something like annexing neighbouring countries — as is done by Soviet Russia — just to feel secure, without any colonial ambitions such as those which beset imperialist countries like the USA, who, just to deceive the world, religiously refrain from annexing any country, despite the fact that they could have done so easily, there being no one to prevent it.

The belief in puppetry is world-wide. In India it often goes by the name of groupism, the most scandalous example of which was provided by Mahatma Gandhi when he conferred the triple crown on J. M. Sengupta. "Who was Sengupta?" the reader will be inclined to ask, "and what was the triple crown?" Sengupta was a Bengali leader of the loyal type so dear to the heart of the Mahatma, and the triple crown consisted of the leadership of the Bengal Congress Legislature Party, the presidency of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee and the Mayoralty of the Calcutta Corporation. The object was to dethrone Subhas Bose from the hearts of the people by providing them with another idol, and the triple crown was a device to raise the stature to that of a god—as against Subhas Bose — of a man who was unable to surpass him through his own efforts. This was at once a reward for loyalty and a warning to those who, like Subhas Bose, dared to think for themselves. The tradition continues. If it can be respected by Jawaharlal Nehru, why not by Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad?

KAIRON'S FUTURE

The most absorbing topic of interest in the Capital, despite Mr. Shamsuddin, remains the future of Chief Minister Kairon and the nature of the Prime Minister's verdict on his case. Mr. Nehru said at a Press Conference recently that the whole case (in the Supreme Court) was unfortunately decided on one side and the other side did not appear. This as well as his habit of praising Sardar Kairon, from which he cannot refrain, can only make out a case for a judicial inquiry in which the Punjab Chief Minister will of course have the right to be heard. That the Prime Minister's utterances on the subject have been anything but dispassionate is proved by correspondence appearing in the dailies. Mr. Asif Ansari of Allahabad for example, writes:

"The remarks made by the Prime Minister in the Rajya Sabha in connection with the observations of the Supreme Court in the recent case of Dr. Pratap Singh versus the State of Punjab are amazing. The Prime Minister has alleged that the comments of the judges of the Supreme Court about the conduct of the Chief Minister of Punjab were 'obiter dicta' and that they were made without giving him a chance; in other words, the Supreme Court has violated the 'Rule of Law'. He also said that may be the Chief Minister was not at all aware of what was happening to the proceedings in question in court."

"There were two issues before the Supreme Court: (1) Whether the relevant Service Rules could authorise the Government to pass the orders recalling the appellant from leave and starting an inquiry against him, and (2) if the power is vested in the Government, was it exercised mala fide at the instance of the Chief Minister? The Supreme Court decided the first issue in favour of the State. On the second matter the decision of the Supreme Court upheld the contention of the appellant. A question, which is at issue for decision on which evidence is led, and arguments advanced by the parties' counsel, can be anything but 'obiter dicta'.

"The Prime Minister's comment on the Rule of Law is also curious. The State of Punjab was a party to the proceedings. The Chief Minister happened to be the head of the Health Department as Minister in charge. Apart from this general aspect, specific allegations were made about the Chief Minister. Their Lordships, after having held that the allegations were not irrelevant to the question in issue and were supported by affidavit on oath

and documentary evidence, observed that the only way they could be disproved was by the Chief Minister himself. It is pertinent to quote the observations of their Lordships:

"In the present case there were serious allegations made against the Chief Minister and there were several matters of which he alone could have personal knowledge and therefore which he alone could deny, but what was, however, placed before the Court in answer to the charges made against the Chief Minister was an affidavit by the Secretary to the Government in the Medical Department who could only speak from official records and obviously not from personal knowledge about the several matters which were alleged against the Chief Minister We have in mind the Chief Minister as well as Mrs. Kairon against whom allegations have been made but who have not chosen to state on oath the true facts according to them."

Proceeding Mr. Ansari Observes:

"The State of Punjab had the legal assistance of very able lawyers, including the present Attorney-General. It will be ridiculous to imagine that they were not informed of the legal position. That the Chief Minister had decided not to file any counter-affidavit may be due to other reasons. He might have been advised that in case his version is not accepted by the courts, legal consequences may follow. Whatever the cause, it is unfair and uncharitable to blame the Supreme Court for the omissions of the Chief Minister. The Supreme Court had no jurisdiction to force him to file a counter-affidavit about the allegations made personally against him. There were various tape-records to support the allegations of what passed between the appellant on the one hand and the Chief Minister and members of the latter's family, on the other. These tape-records were, on the application of the State, allowed to be played in the office of the counsel for the State and the State was allowed to re-tape-record them. The counter-affidavits by the State were filed afterwards, in which there was no denial by the State of the genuineness of the tape records."

Regarding the contention that Sardar Kairon was no party to the case, another correspondent points out as follows: "In fact, the civil surgeon, Dr. Pratap Singh, had at an early stage of the proceedings submitted before the Punjab High Court that Mr. Kairon be made a party to the case. The submission was opposed by the Government and the High Court turned it down. Later an appeal against this decision was preferred by the civil surgeon and a Division Bench of the High Court again refused to make Mr. Kairon a party to the case. So when the case came before the Supreme Court, Mr. Kairon himself did not file an affidavit to counter the one filed by the civil surgeon, on the ground that he was not a party to the case."

But his son, who also was not a party to it in the formal sense, did file such an affidavit. It was found to be false by the Supreme Court which accordingly accepted the civil surgeon's version as uncontroverted. This raises an important question. The younger Kairon's affidavit, which was a statement on oath, having been dismissed as false by the court, he should by now have been hauled up on a charge of perjury. The initiative in the matter lies with the State Government and since nothing has happened in this regard so far, nor is it likely to happen, the conclusion seems inescapable, that there is someone in Punjab who is above law enforceable in case of ordinary citizens. This fact alone makes the Chief Minister's position look, even from a purely legal point of view, anomalous.

"Again, to dismiss the direct findings of the highest court in the land as 'obiter dicta' or to keep harping upon the lack of unanimity among the judges is not to give very strong proof of necessary deference being shown to the judiciary. Already, by instituting new departmental inquiries against officials excoriated by the Supreme Court itself in the previous cases, the Chief Minister had been treating the Court with considerable lack of respect. And the very number of petitions, seeking transfer of cases to courts outside Punjab, which were allowed by the Court on the ground that the Chief Minister was hostile to the petitioners, indicates to some extent the way Mr. Kairon functions."

"But by declaiming that 'judges and magistrates cannot and will not' be allowed to adversely affect the fortunes of a politician, did not Mr. Kairon's 'trusted lieutenant', Punjab's Home Minister, Mr. Mohanlal, reach the limits of irreverence and irrelevance? For, where in the judgment had the Court wanted or even hinted that the Chief Minister should resign? It had only asserted, which it had a perfect right to do, that a particular order of the Punjab Government, having been vitiated by malafides, stood quashed."

"The main point at issue in connection with the Supreme Court's strictures against Mr. Kairon is not that his retention as Chief Minister would be unconstitutional, but that it would be unconscionable. If, on the basis of its findings, the Court came to the conclusion that the order in question, which the Government was perfectly competent to pass, had in fact been vitiated by mala fides, it is now for the Chief Minister and his party to decide whether on purely moral grounds he should or should not continue in office."

All these points are with reference to the civil surgeon's case judgment alone. There are many other charges against Mr. Kairon in the memorandum submitted to the President some time ago.

LIBERTE

by Lilian Hardern, M.I.P.R.

(Written for "Liberté, Fraternité", the magazine for the 1963 Conference of the Federation of Liberal and Progressive Jewish Youth Groups, and now reproduced here from 'Freedom first', London).

Liberty is my subject, and my terms of reference Individual Freedom. This is not absolute, for with rights come duties. The prevailing tendency is to demand more of the former, and fulfil less of the latter. In an era where Parliaments have become little more than a rubber stamp to speed through legislation, it is vital for individuals to assert themselves to safeguard their liberties, and to take their own responsibilities. Laws may be immoral, and yet be constitutional: watchdogs are needed, and watchdogs that bark.

Freedom must be earned. It is not a right. It is an aspiration. History has shown that even men in bondage may feel free 'Iron bars do not a prison make.' Moses aspired to freedom, and inspired the love of freedom in its greatest sense. He led the captive Israelites out of Egypt to build a new life in a promised land. On the other hand, some who live in a self-styled free democracies feel enslaved. Writing as I am to a young readership, I must tell you what conditions should prevail for freedom to flourish.

Independence does not necessarily bring freedom in its train. Service to others may bring freedom. Foremost is the need for good and fearless leadership; the ability to say what you believe to be true, and the courage to do so, irrespective of popularity. Given this leadership, good followership is necessary. Great harm has been done in the cause of individual enterprise and initiative by Party Politics, a love of patronage, and a lack of courage. Much play is made on the word 'independence' in the twentieth century, but only in civilised countries, and where good leaders are at the helm, can a wide degree of liberty be acceptable. To say, to think, to write whatever one pleases, to hold whatever political opinions one chooses, to act as one desires always provided it is compatible with the interests of the community as a whole. In countries where religion has tempered man's baser instincts, it can work. I would go so far as to say that the Commandments which Moses gave to the children of Israel, if kept, would form a real basis for Individual Freedom. This was brought home to me when I saw Cecil B. de Mille's Epic film *The Ten Commandments*. "To love thy neighbour as thyself" Think what this means.....

Tolerance, and a sense of responsibility must go hand in hand with freedom. If your neighbour suffers, you must feel indignant for him. The degree of responsibility you have is measured by the amounts you are prepared to sacrifice for the good of others. Every single act which results in injustice or loss of individual is the responsibility of the whole community. We are responsible for our

leaders. Power corrupts. We must see that our leaders are not given too much power. Look what happened in Germany when Hitler was given such absolute power. He was corrupted, and his country with him! And, worse still, millions suffered.

Young people should take an active interest in the affairs of the nation, and make their voices heard. They should watch for signs of diminishing individual freedom and responsibility.

The Society, to which I have devoted a great part of my life, is seeking the appointment of an Ombudsman, or similar system, in order to ensure that acts of injustice by the administration do not go unchecked or unremedied. His name means 'Grievance Man', and he is Scandinavian in origin. Denmark and Sweden, and now New Zealand, all have such an office in their Constitution. We need such an appointment here, for some way must be found to break through the Iron Curtain of Righteousness and Perfection in which the Establishment is encased. Composed as it is of human beings, one supposes that they may sometimes err.

The Society sponsored the writing of a book *Occasion for Ombudsman* by T. E. Utley. Anyone reading this book will realise that we need a system such as this as much for the sake of the individual as for the M.P. Official and Civil Servant. There is a feeling of frustration abroad at present. A little bad feeling can spread a long way.

In order to attain and preserve individual freedom, we must say not "THEY must do something about it" but "What can WE do about it?"

TEST OF AN ECONOMIC POLICY

This brings us to the central test of any policy. We must test every course of action by whether it promises to improve the position of the average person. And we must look with the gravest concern on anything which promises to be damaging. This is a simple test but a valid one. A few moments ago I expressed doubts about the accepted tests of the economist—the rate of investment and of economic growth. An undue emphasis on the rate of growth can, and in important cases has led to undue emphasis on current saving and on increase of these savings through taxation. As a result, in the name of increasing output in the long run there has been reduction in the well-being of the average person in the short run. This, it will be evident, can be dangerous policy. The average person may know of the hopes for the future. But he knows even more acutely that he is now poorer than before. This can rarely be accepted with grace and contentment when living standards are close to the margin.

—From Ambassador Galbraith's Address
Before Bombay University.

SOCIAL THOUGHT IN AMERICA by Morton C.

White. First Edition in 1947. Reprint from Second Edition in 1947. Viking Press, New York. Pages 260. Price \$3.50.

The sub-title **Revolt against Formalism** gives the lay reader but little information regarding the nature and scope of the book under review by Professor Morton White.

Though not couched in technical language, the work is philosophical in inspiration in a broad sense as dealing with general ideas and outlook. In the long run, the culture and civilisation of a people is determined by their outlook, their interpretation of nature and human values in the widest sense. Movements in opinion in this sphere lie at the back of all reform and revolutions occurring among a people.

Technical philosophy is only the innermost shrine and arena of such movements and counter-movements in the inner life of a nation, which ultimately take shape in outward events, historical upheavals, wars and new settlements. They figure in art and literature, sculpture and architecture, painting and music, law and social institutions—economic, political, religious and social—extending to manners and fashions, costumes and personal ideals.

Professor White offers in this work a preliminary sketch, as he says, of the movements of social thought in the first half of the twentieth century, taken broadly from about 1880 to 1930 which he characterises as a revolt against formalism.

He develops his theme through an exposition of the major ideas and motives of Charles Beard, James Harvey Robinson, Justice Holmes, John Dewey and Thorstein Veblen.

In the thought of these thinkers, America comes of age in the field of social thought and develops their own attitudes of reform and reconstruction towards the formation of a new civilisation preserving the values of old Europe but transcending them in new directions of human fulfilment.

The great economic crisis of 1929 which showed up the failure of the capitalist system in a flash of lightning, as it were, lent urgency to the thought of the new thinkers. It assumed a practical shape in various ways in the New Deal of President Roosevelt in the next epoch of reconstruction from 1932 through war to the present day.

Justice Holmes contributed a new orientation to law in social affairs by looking upon it as the product of history and evolution. He looked upon the function of the judge as one of interpretation of changing social needs in awarding his verdicts. Law becomes an instrument of reform and progress and is thus rationalised and re-integrated into the social whole, instead of standing aloof without roots in experience.

After the first world war, fundamental rights like free speech came to the fore and Justice Holmes made history in his participation in Supreme Court Judgements. In one case, he expounded his famous view of the "clear and present danger" condition for taking action in restraint of free speech. In time of war, in view of such clear and present danger, free speech may be curtailed by the administration. Thus law is related to social situation.

Holmes related law to social anthropology. Professor White characterises this as an attitude of **organicism** and **historicism**. The former views cultural elements as parts of the social whole. The latter views culture as the product of historical evolution.

Professor Charles Beard made history in the cultural field with his **Economic Interpretation of the American Constitution**. He showed how the Fathers of the Nation had their economic interests to safeguard in formulating the fundamental rights, which thus brought down airy idealism to solid earth in the interests of classes. He came close to Marx.

His colleague, Professor Robinson, better known to the general public as the author of the well-known book **Mind in the Making** (which is an account of reasoning in the concrete) wrote a history of Western Europe to illustrate the new view that history is a science as seeking explanation in terms of causes and is not merely a string of brute facts or chronicle of unrelated events.

Here again, social thought relates past and present in a continuity of causal bonds and history is viewed as a guide to the future. It is the root of the tree of which **politics** is the fruit. The human meaning of history is thus brought home to us, which is a move away from mere form to concrete matter or material of life-interests.

Professor Morton White next offers a revealing picture of the motivations of Professor Dewey in his philosophical contributions. Dewey brings philosophy down from abstractions to solid earth. He strengthens human interests with his philosophy of instrumentalism, experimentalism and pragmatism as a living application of the methods of science. He brought out the social mission of science in terms of attitude, method and organised thinking. He was also a pioneer in the new education for democracy; his ideas passed into American schools as "progressive education". Dewey favoured a **planned society** on the analogy of science and so approached socialism in a broad way. His pacifism was shaken by the wars but he evolved compromises in terms of reason to support defensive force.

Thorstein Veblen is one of the major thinkers of economic theory in America. His **Theory of the Leisure Class** passed into general reading as a work of cultural interpretation in addition to being a work of economic theory. His work **The Engineers and the Price System** showed the important role of engineers and managers in modern industry as superior to that of businessmen and financiers.

Veblen caused a devastating criticism of capitalism to become fashionable without putting anything in its place.

Morton White shows how the new thought was incomplete as a sound social philosophy and could not meet the demands for full social justice. The presence of communist solutions filled the vacuum for many. This is a lesson for all today.

M. A Venkata Rao.

The Mind of the Nation

PARTY OR GOVERNMENT?

It is extraordinary, to say the least, for the Prime Minister to maintain that in the matter of Cabinet formation in the States, the final say rests with the High Command and not with the respective Chief Ministers. This theory of supremacy of party over Government is distinctive trait of Communist regimes, we should think. In democracies such as England, the party functions only as a link between Government and the people and never seeks to arrogate to itself the authority, which the popular vote vests in legislature and, through it, in the Government. In fact, according to the Constitution of U.K's Conservative Party, the Chairman of the party is actually *nominated* by the Leader of its Legislative Wing.

In India, the P.M.'s thesis violates the concept of federalism, as well. The Constitution knows nothing about a Party High Command. It allows not even the P.M. to have a say in the choice, either of the C.M. or of his team.

We are not sure, however, that the P.M.'s rather vehement outburst in defence of the High Command's authority, stemmed out of any conviction that the Government should be subservient to party dictates. Had the P.M. really subscribed to that view, neither Acharya Kripalani nor the late Shri Purshottam Das Tandon would have had to quit the post of Congress President. Fact is, Jantar Mantar has been feeling not a little annoyed that the new Chief Minister of U.P. should have refused to become a puppet in their hands. Hence the P.M.'s pique.

—The Organiser

News & Views

WESTERN AID TO DETER CHINA FROM RESORTING TO AGGRESSION AGAIN

New Delhi, the advance party of the British Royal Air Force squadron, selected to take part in the joint air defence training exercises with the Indian Air Force, will fly into an airfield near Calcutta.

The British are contributing one squadron of 12 Javelin Mark 9 fighters, capable of attaining supersonic speed. The squadron, which will be under the overall command of Group Captain Gage Sise, will be arriving in two batches, the first leaving Britain in October 26 and the second the following day.

KENNEDY: NO DISARMAMENT PACT WITHOUT CHINA

WASHINGTON: "Communist China must be a party to any comprehensive disarmament treaty in which

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to reduce their arms to a very low level," President Kennedy told the editor of a leading American women's Journal.

"We can make progress on limited measures without the co-operation of Communist China," he said, "general and complete disarmament will not be possible without a change in the attitude of Peking."

"We can act unilaterally to build up our military strength to out-match that of the Soviet Union," he said, "But unfortunately, we cannot disarm unilaterally without abandoning our allies and imperilling our freedom."

Speaking on the danger of an accidental war, Mr. Kennedy said: "We have developed techniques for preventing the firing of an atomic weapon without control from Washington—safety links, codes, etc.—as much as men afford for the prevention of accidental war."

But he warned that "as these weapons proliferate into other countries and more and more countries get them which may not have this sophisticated means of control, the chance of accidental explosion increases."

A-BOMB AND CHINESE THREAT WILL CONTAIN USSR: LORD HOME

Blackpool, The British Foreign Secretary, Lord Home, held out prospects of genuine and lasting co-existence between the Western alliance and the Soviet bloc.

Russia, he said, would not return to the old ways and switch from blandishments to threats because of the nuclear bomb and the presence of China on its eastern frontier.

The Conservatives gave him the loudest applause when he finished his speech at the party conference here.

Lord Home has been Mr. Macmillan's closest friend in the Cabinet and it was he who brought the Prime Minister's letter announcing his decision to resign here yesterday.

INDIA FOR RETAINING FORMOSA SEAT?

When the question of admitting Communist China to the United Nations is raised again, India may recommend that Nationalist China (Formosa) retain its membership even if the People's Republic of China is admitted.

This apparently was indicated by Minister T. T. Krishnamachari while in the United States recently.

Mr. Krishnamachari says that his references to Formosa were given out only in a personal capacity. But Foreign Office officials in New Delhi do not deny that the statement constitutes a "significant" departure from India's previous stand.

India's stand vis-a-vis Communist China has gone through three phases. For about the first nine years of its independence, it enthusiastically supported China's admission into the United Nations. It introduced the country to the first Bandung conference as a peace-loving Asian giant. It even persuaded President Nasser of the United Arab Republic, among others, to afford the Peking regime full recognition.

The second phase started with the arguments that while China should be admitted, it should in some way be bound by the rules of the international organization.

Last year when this question came up, India still supported Communist China's candidature and put forward the argument that condemnation of its aggressive intent in India

would be more effective in the ...
elsewhere. On the question of Formosa, there was continued
silence.

—Christian Science Monitor

SALE OF U.S. WHEAT TO HUNGRY RUSSIA APPROVED

WASHINGTON: President Kennedy approved the sale of U.S. wheat to hungry communist countries except China and Cuba.

Poland and Yugoslavia have for long received wheat against local currencies, which, as India knows, means almost a grant.

Besides Russia, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria and Hungary have formally asked for U.S. wheat to make good their shortages. The Russian demand is for four million tons of wheat and other food grains, worth about 250 million dollars at world prices. The orders from the other three countries amount to 50 million dollars.

President Kennedy painted a wholly rosy picture of the deal. He saw nothing but advantage accruing from it to the U.S. It will substantially reduce the U.S. balance of payments deficit. It will reduce the overflowing wheat surpluses which cost the country 1,000 million dollars to store. It will demonstrate to the communist countries the superiority of the U.S. farming system.

If the Russians do not tell this story to their people, Voice of America will.

CHAIRS FLUNG AT K.P.C.C. MEETING

At a meeting of the Kerala Pradesh Congress Committee, held on October 6, rival groups fought each other like ferocious wild cats. Chairs were thrown, fistcuffs exchanged, and abuses hurled while the AICC observer, Sir Harihar Kambhoja looked on helplessly.

The meeting had been convened to hold elections of President and executive of the PCC, but the pandemonium and uproar that broke out was such that the elections had to be abandoned.

Ever since the date of elections had been announced, both the factions of the Kerala Congress, the organisational and the ministerial, have been engaged in a hectic canvassing campaign—with no holds barred. Allegations and counter allegations have been made by the warring groups that bogus members have been enrolled and voters have been bribed. Anyway, the PCC faction led by Red-leaning C. K. Govindan Nair secured a majority of seats in the PCC. Meanwhile, the Ministerialists made attempts to have Mr. P. T. Chacko accepted unanimously. The 'progressives' in the party didn't agree and so a poll became necessary.

Just when the polling was about to commence, a telegram purported to have been sent by Mr. K. K. Shah, AICC General Secretary, was read out. The telegram requested partymen to elect Mr. Chacko unanimously. The genuineness of the telegram was questioned. This touched off a spate of order, which in turn led to cat-calls, hooting and abusing, and then to chair-throwing and boxing. The representative of the Congress High Command, Shri Harihar Kambhoja pleaded in vain to have an orderly election. Then the PRO announced the postponement of the election.

PLAN TARGET OF FOURTEEN MILLION JOBS

Shortfall in Appraisal

NEW DELHI: Additional employment that will be

now estimated at about 40 to 45 per cent of the Plan target of 14 million jobs.

According to the present indications, by the end of the third year of the Plan, about 4.9 million jobs are expected to be created in the non-agricultural sector and 1.6 million jobs in the agricultural sector, as against the five-year targets of 10.5 millions and 3.5 millions respectively.

The shortfall in the creation of additional employment revealed in the mid-term Plan appraisal is reflected in the growing size of the live registers of employment exchanges.

Latest available figures show that the number of applicants on the live registers of employment exchanges has been increasing considerably since March 1961—15.61 lakhs in March that year to 26.85 lakhs in June 1963.

FOOD-SUPPLY LOSES RACE AGAINST POPULATION GROWTH

UNITED NATIONS: The Director-General of the U. N. Food and Agriculture Organisation, Dr. B. R. Sen, said here that the world was losing its food supply race against an increasing population.

Dr. Sen said that there might be an additional 1,500 million under-nourished people in the world at the end of the next 35 years and this threatened "grave social disorders and even revolutions."

He pleaded with the social welfare committee of the U.N. General Assembly to include in a proposed human rights treaty clauses calling for freedom from hunger and share-the-feed measures as necessary human rights.

He said the treaty, the language of which was being considered by the committee, stated that "everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person." He added that "it is quite evident that the right to life is not assured unless there is at the same time, an assurance of the right to adequate food."

Dear Editor

EQUATION OF SOCIALISM WITH COMMUNISM IS ZIONISM

Mrs. Goodman in 'The Indian Libertarian' of July 15th, states that the Socialist Party of Great Britain maintains that the Russian Revolution was not meant to establish Socialism or Communism. "How Right they are!". The Revolution was created to establish a New Empire—The Zionist Communist, Jewish World Empire and to perpetuate 100 per cent Debt Slavery to the World Bank as the Treasury of the Jewish World Empire. It is now well-established that the U.S.A. and the rest of the U.N.O. are Colonies of the Jewish World Empire through the operation of the Monetary funds via the World Bank. The continual assertion that the Communist world is almost complete is no idle assertion, as the Communist-Jewish World Empire has existed ever since Taxes were levied. The 100 per cent Debt Finance system ended the capitalist system some thousands of years ago. There has been no capitalist system on the Earth since Taxation existed, because Taxed money ceases to be money of its face value, "Capital Empire". "Every Taxed State is a colony of the Jewish World Empire" and every man who borrows Bank Credit is a slave paying upwards of 500 per cent interest upon his own productions and national Cash through Taxes.

London.

OLARESHSHAW.

ANNOUNCEMENT

We have a few back issues of "Freeman" a monthly journal published by the Foundation for Economic Education, U.S.A. They are available free on request to us. Requests for copies should be accompanied with 15 nP. stamps.

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Page

EDITORIAL :

Agricultural Progress or 'Collective' Chaos? 2

India And China 5

By M. A. Venkata Rao

What is Wrong with Groupism? 7

By M. N. Tholal

DELHI LETTER :

Nehru's Coup D'Grace 9

Guided Democracy 11

By Shrimati Prema Nandakumar

Book-Review 12

The Mind of the Nation 13

News and Views 14

Agricultural Progress or "Collective" Chaos?

THE Congress debacle on the food front has evidently upset and shaken the Congress leaders. They are now busy finding out scapegoats for explaining their unpardonable failure in this regard. The National Development Council, Mr. Nanda and Prime Minister Nehru are, therefore, all attempting to pass on their undoubted responsibility for this failure, to the shoulders of the poor State Governments, by accusing them of serious dereliction of duty in speedily implementing the programme of 'Land Reforms' and of thus retarding agricultural progress. Being geniuses in slogan-mongering, the Congress leaders are now giving the country the high-sounding slogan of 'more collectivization of agriculture' as a cure for these ills, even as they have given the mantram of 'more socialism' as overall panacea for the acute economic crisis through which the country is passing at present.

LAND REFORMS GALORE UNDER CONGRESS RAJ

The fact of the matter is that all the State Governments have been seized with this one consuming passion for 'Land Reforms' as no other, ever since they came to power in 1947. The Bombay State has been a pioneer in this field and has always acted with a zeal and singleness of purpose which could have been better employed for a worthier cause. The Bombay Government went on inflicting on the State people a never-ending series of hastily conceived Tenancy Acts purporting to eliminate the landlord class and the class of well-to-do peasant-proprietors through ceiling on land-holdings, arbitrary fixation of rent and gross interference with the operation of the free land-market and severe restrictions imposed on transfers of ownership rights in agricultural lands.

The results, as foreseen by all economists not still brain-washed by the Congress rulers, were disastrous. The so-called 'Landlords' were literally hounded out of their ancestral villages in search of a bare living. The gap thus created in rural leadership could not be filled up, by the inefficient Gram-Sevakas appointed by the Government, under the Community Development and Village Extension Service schemes. The agencies created by the Government to do the work of the Landlords who gave credit-loans to the villagers on a mutually workable basis, supplied tested seeds and manures to the farmers in season, and gave them agricultural implements if need be, repaired bunds and carried out minor local irrigation works, failed to rise equal to their task. So agriculture declined. The whole Western coastal side of the Bombay State, full of 'Khar' or saltish lands, once smiling with rich crops,

was laid waste and presented a horrid picture of thousands of acres of agricultural lands being inundated with sea-water, for want of proper repairs to the old bunds and embankments. The ceiling placed on agricultural holdings, carried the evil process of fragmentation still further and had the most deplorable effect of depressing the none too high standard of living and culture of the peasant-proprietors to the level of the rural proletariat.

This example of Bombay was faithfully followed by other States who also enacted Abolition of Zamindari Acts and Tenancy Acts, more or less on the same lines, with the same disastrous consequences on agricultural output and the standard of living of the middle class consisting of land-holders and peasants proprietors.

MORE RHETORICS THAN ECONOMICS.

It sounds therefore very odd to hear Mr. Nehru complain, as he has been doing in his recent speeches, that Land Reforms have not been properly carried out by the States Governments. One therefore is led to suspect that the phrase 'Land Reforms' connotes to him not merely giving the land to the tiller as is generally supposed, but something more radical and dangerous to the agriculturist class as a whole. It is evident that what ails the minds of Mr. Nehru and Mr. Nanda is not the disgraceful state of stagnation of agricultural output over the last two years, at the level of 1960-61, but the refusal or perhaps the sheer inability on the part of the State Governments to exploit the present agricultural crisis for the purpose of introducing more leftist Land Reforms in the direction of Nehru's new fad of 'Collective Farms', euphemistically called 'Co-operative Farms'. If the food crisis had really exercised the minds of Mr. Nehru and his Democratic Socialist colleagues, they would have cried a halt to the Land Reforms, in the light of the havoc these reforms have wrought in the country-side and this vital agricultural sector of our economy. The present debacle would have, then, brought home to these democratic socialists that though the extinction of the Landlord class might be perhaps justified on moral and egalitarian grounds, though not on strictly economic grounds, there was no justification whatsoever moral or economic, for the Congress to attempt the elimination of the rich and middle peasant classes who alone could increase the crop-yield per acre. It has now been proved beyond doubt that agricultural industry more than any other, requires individual attention, initiative and motivation and single-minded devotion which are found to be usually missing

among agriculturists barracked into Soviet 'Collectives' or Chinese 'Communes'.

The Government's chief concern therefore at this critical juncture, should be to rehabilitate at least the much-maligned peasant-proprietor, if not the socially useful 'Landlord', in the rural economy of the country by giving him an unqualified assurance that his peasant-proprietorship is safe and secure in its hands and no further inroads would be made on his ownership rights in the land and he could safely invest his money into it so as to improve it and make it yield richer crops. The land-system based on peasant-proprietorship has given better results in stepping up agricultural production in countries like U.S.A., Japan, France, Canada and Australia. There is no reason why it should not prove successful in our country and why it should stand condemned in the eyes of our rulers except for ideological reasons.

It is reported that even Russia and China have been compelled by force of circumstances to see the error of their ways in launching upon their plans of wholesale agricultural collectives and communes. Should India not take lessons at least from the bitter experiences of these communist countries passing now through acute food crisis? Must our Government still in a fool-hardy manner allow itself to be guided more by rhetorics than by real economics in formulating its agricultural plans and policies? In fact, agriculture has had already its sweet revenge on the Government for relegating it to the secondary position and unduly boosting the untenable claims of heavy industry at its cost, forgetting the patent fact that in a developing country like India with her limited resources, the heavy industries and even consumers' industries have to feed themselves largely on the surplus income accruing to the country from agriculture which in more senses than one, is the 'basic' industry, albeit the massive aid flowing to India from affluent countries like U.S.A.

CHAOS OF COLLECTIVISM.

The Nehruvian Democratic Socialists too, if they really dared to accept the challenge of their critics, could still demonstrate the viability and usefulness of their pet plan of agricultural 'co-operatives', by first distributing about ten crores of Government waste lands available at present among the landless proletarians in the rural areas and bringing them all into co-operatives. The advantage of such a course of action would be, that if this experiment succeeds in stepping up agricultural production per acre and improving the living standards of agriculturists, it will surely act as a lever for further implementation of the 'co-operatives' plan even among the present peasant-proprietors; and even if it fails, it will do least harm to the present peasantry-dominated land system in the country which had stood the test of time over all these centuries.

But Mr. Nehru's recent speeches do not hold out any such hopes of a pragmatic and rational ap-

proach being made by this Government to this problem of increasing agricultural output, commensurate with the fast growing population of the country. It looks more likely that, with the general elections coming near, his power-crazy Government will, instead, offer to the ignorant and excitable multitude, a veritable socialist circus of confiscatory 'Land Reforms', which will inexorably take the country towards the chaos of collectivised agriculture and the complete effacement of the self-employed peasant class, the last surviving symbol of decentralised political and economic democracy at the grass roots.

THE CRISIS OF BAATHISM IN THE ARAB LAND.

The Baathists of Iraq and Syria, and Nasserian Arab Nationalists are both known to have placed before themselves the common goal of 'Socialism and Arab unity'. But the main difference between the two seems to be centred over the question of Nasser's monolithic leadership of the Arab world. Moreover the Baathists claim that they are more democratic than Nasserites and as such, they can never accept the military dictatorship of Nasser over the Asian Arab countries. Ever since the talks among the three nations, viz., Egypt, Syria and Iraq, failed in April last, over the issue of bringing the three countries together under an enlarged edition of U.A.R., the Arab countries in West Asia

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have been split all over, between these two power-organisations of free and self-governing regional communities and compact social groups in a spirit of mutual aid and co-operation.

The Baathist movement which made its debut in 1940 under the leadership of Michel Aflak and Salah Al Ditar, first attracted world-wide attention in early 1963, when the Baathists overthrew leftist Kasim regime in Iraq and seized power for themselves. This was followed within a few days by a successful coup staged by the Syrian Baathists in Damascus. These two Baathist-dominated Governments of Iraq and Syria have naturally roused much ire and opposition from the ambitious Nasser and his followers.

Except for common religion and mythical common racial ties, the Asian Arabs properly so-called, have no cultural or social links with Egyptian Arabs. But Nasser wants to impose his own brand of Arab nationalism on Iraq, Syria, Jordan and other Asian Arab countries. It is evident that under the leadership of the Baathists, these different Arab communities are fighting back Nasser's political and cultural imperialism with their backs to the wall. The Baathists, for a time, made a good show of presenting a united front at least in Syria and Iraq, against Nasserism through military alliance and a well-laid plan for close economic, political, and cultural union of these two countries. The Sixth International Baathist Congress held in last October, even declared its intention of forming the Arab Democratic Peoples' Republic with its capital at Bagdad.

But Nasserites, scenting the grave danger from this move to their imperial ambitions, have swiftly struck a blow at this attempt to unite Asian Arab nations on the Baathist platform. They appear to have attained a measure of success in creating a division among the Baathist ranks in Iraq. The moderate Baathist leader and Vice-Premier of Iraq Ali Suleh Savdi was reported to have put down the abortive extremist anti-Nasser coup that took place in the second week of November in Iraq. But his victory was evidently short-lived. The news has now arrived that President Aref supposed to be pro-Nasser has taken over the reins of the Government with the backing of regular Iraqi army and the Baathists National Guards have capitulated to the army. President Nasser has openly welcomed this event and has even warned the Baathist Government of Syria against any intervention in the internal affairs of Iraq.

This dramatic turn of events in Iraq is certainly a serious blow to the Arab movement for regional autonomy and freedom to order its own way of life. Nasser's idea of forced Arab unity is incompatible with the UNO principle of self-determination of even small nations and its objective of welding them all into a voluntary world federation based on equal partnership of nations. The world democratic opinion is gradually veering round to the view that aggressive nationalism is a serious danger to world peace and the road to world unity lies not through such jingoistic nationalism but through voluntarily coming together in a world

WELL DONE, ALIGARH UNIVERSITY!

The Aligarh University was born essentially of the spirit of Renaissance which ruled over the minds of leaders of Muslim community who founded it. Though this University has remained, broadly speaking, even to this day, a seat of Muslim culture and learning, it has had to throw its portals wide and open to other communities as well, in keeping with the spirit of its basic ideals.

Now that India is a free country, the Aligarh University could not long remain unaffected by the spirit of the new awakening. The recent resolution it has passed enabling its institutions to switch over to English from Urdu as the medium of instruction particularly at the college level, will come as a pleasant surprise to those lovers of learning and knowledge in our country, who are not a little amazed and dumb-founded at the extremely tortuous and tantalising policies followed both by Central and Provincial Governments on the language issue.

In this connection one is reminded of the prophecy made by the late Mr. Natarajan the illustrious editor of "The Indian Social Reformer" in the early forties, in a series of articles on the future of English. He wrote that within fifteen years of Gandhiji's passing away, future generations would forget all about Gandhian fads about Hindi and white-cap which then symbolised the national dress and they will take to the English language and Western style of dress. That prophecy is remarkably coming out true today. Boys and girls of the present generation, though denied proper instruction in the English language, talk and read English more than Hindi and are dressed more in the Western style than the Indian one. Men and women have thus silently but unmistakably shown their likes and dislikes in these matters, which appear to have been determined by sound considerations of utility, convenience and inherent merit.

And it is now the turn of the Universities to carry on this urgent work begun by the common man. The Aligarh University has not only allowed English to be made the medium of instruction but also has taken the revolutionary decision that the Roman script be adopted as the associate script with Urdu in the University. It is up to the other Universities to follow suit in breaking the foolish 'icons' newly created by Hindi chauvinists who want to carry the country at least two centuries backwards.

If young men and women, the intellectuals and the universities unitedly give a bit of their mind to the Government boldly and persistently on this burning issue of an All India Language, there will be no need at all for the DMK in Madras to carry on an unconstitutional agitation to make even the deaf hear and the blind see the practical, true and rational side of this language controversy.

—D. M. Kulkarni

INDIA AND CHINA

By M. A. VENKATA RAO

China is an unsatisfied nation. Its goal is physical possession of the wealth of South Asia—India, Malaya, Burma, Thailand, Indonesia, Burma, Vietnam, The Phillipines, Borneo, Formosa, reducing Japan to a subordinate status along with Southern Asia as part of the Chinese Co-prosperity Empire. India, therefore, needs an immediate re-orientation of her diplomacy, if she is to survive the present perilous crisis and meet the Chinese menace.

THE Jaipur meeting of the All India Congress has as usual echoed its Leader's master-sentiment (and "policy") of nonalignment as the all-sufficient *mantra* for the salvation of the country. The aggression by China in October (indeed its continued occupation of parts of Ladakh and of NEFA) and its irresponsiveness to the effete Colombo Powers has evoked no agonising re-appraisal in the Leader's mind of the old policies of nonalignment and panch-sheel.

The members of the Congress party are as usual impervious to national peril but engrossed in their personal and party interests in the exploitation of the country. The Kamaraj Plan has done nothing to improve their awareness of the national need and national emergency. They continue to entrust the Leader with *Carte Blanche* as of old, divesting themselves of the grave responsibility they owe to the country as representatives of the people, particularly the members of the central and state legislatures.

What a contrast to the behaviour of the Conservative back-benchers in England two hundred of whom wrote to Mr. MacMillan to resign in the Profumo affair and make room for another leader! And he did, without seeking a "Kamaraj Plan" to save himself and his party!

To add to the gravity of the situation, it is reported that large numbers of members of the communist party in Bengal, Assam and along the U.P. and Bihar borders *belong to the Chinese faction*. Naturally, since it is the Chinese forces that are nearer the scene and are more likely to take-over in the next conflict when it comes on a larger scale! It is not Communal Papers and parties and groups alone that report rumours of "Lal Sena" formations in Tripura and adjoining areas. We have not heard of any counter-move on the part of the Government!

Meanwhile, what of the Chinese *intentions* and official estimates of their intentions and policies to meet them?

Beyond asking the people to beware and announcing some defence manufactures (and the recent Western joint air-raid exercises operation or shiksha), we are not aware of any deeper policy initiatives on the part of Government.

From international sources we gather that China is fast developing into a Third Force, a Third epicentre of world Power. Washington and Moscow and London and Paris are watching the rise of China as an independent centre of world diplomacy and world power. Peking is competing with both Moscow

and Washington in every focus of world lines on every continent—particularly in Asia and Africa and Latin America.

It is learnt that Castro is turning to China for aid and support in his conflict with the West and is dissatisfied with Khrushchov!

China is attempting, not without success, to dominate newly enfranchised African nations and is arranging their rallies.

Ghana and Yugoslavia seem to be competing with each other for the leadership of neutral nations and India is relegated to the background after the debacle of October last on the Himalayan slopes and the easy triumph of the Red Chinese forces.

Unaware of the loss of prestige (and *magic*), Shri Nehru continues to air his advice to other nations on world peace and world diplomacy—on South African apartheid, surviving colonialism, race prejudice in America and so on. It is pathetic and humiliating. Cannot we keep a dignified silence on international matters, working ably on committees to which we are called? Like the Swiss and the Swedish?

We should know when we are welcome and when we are not.

China has her own quarrels with Russia stemming from a long time with regard to her long land frontier from the Pamirs to Manchuria. She has asserted her complete sovereignty over Sinkiang and taken it over since 1949—a thing that Marshal Chiang Kaishek could not do. The province is being industrialised rapidly. Mines are being developed, industries are being set up, the old Muslim population is being educated in the Three R's and in industrial discipline. Cadres are being trained out of them. Technicians are being trained and the new world is fast emerging on the desert borders akin to modern urban centres in the West! The hold of the customs and religious rites of millenia is being loosened apace. Motors, trucks, railways, cement roads, buses, factories, cinemas, flats, radios, bush shirts, skirts are appearing in that remote area and transforming the psychology of the people.

China is transferring large numbers of Chinese people—of the Han extraction from the Middle kingdom, to these border areas from Sinkiang to Mongolia to stiffen the national character of the area. Nationalisation or *Sinisation* is going apace—irrespective of cost—also in Tibet.

A decade of this process will root out all possibility of revolt from ethnic minorities and a foundation of stock!

Only a ruthless totalitarian regime can do this job compressing centuries of social process into decades!

The centre of gravity of Chinese national society and power is shifting from the coastal cities to the centre—more to the northern land-mass abutting the Russian Siberian territory.

Russians are apprehending conflicts along this long ancient frontier and are reinforcing their border troops at strategic frontier posts!

Thousands of Russian technicians are leaving China but the Chinese are proceeding with their programme of self-sufficiency in defence and power potential! Their self-confidence seems to be immense.

Their Great Leap of 1957-58 failed disastrously in agriculture and industry. Their targets had to be abandoned. They had to import food from capitalist countries and machinery as well from outside communist countries such as Britain. But they are confident of carrying out their plans with or without dependence on Russia and other communist countries.

They are competing with Russia as the home of communist leadership and source of communist ideology and example of Marxist-Leninist Progress to the Classless Heaven. They claim to be better guides to the strategy of world conflict for world conquest inasmuch as Mao and other Chinese leaders are older than Khrushchov in communist revolutionary experience and statesmanship. They made their revolution entirely independently of Moscow and in flat contradiction to Stalin's advice. They came to power not on the official orthodox basis of city, industrial proletariat but on the support of the peasantry. Mao built a great army out of peasants and fed and trained it out of his own mother-wit and genius—not with the help of the bookish maxims of Marx and Lenin at all!

Even today, the Chinese ideologists who insist on using war when opportunity occurs to further world conquest, as Stalin did in Korea and Vietnam, command a majority among communist nations.

But Khrushchov is more keenly aware of the danger of nuclear war and is not willing to risk it. He is aware of the Russian people's hunger for peace and industrial prosperity. His regime will crack if he leads his nation to war rashly. It is another thing if the West or China attacks Russia, when defence will lead the Russians to enthusiastic and sacrificial defence heroism.

But China is an *unsatisfied nation*. It wants empire: Its goal is physical possession of the wealth of South Asia—India, Malaya, Burma, Indonesia, Thailand, the Vietnams, (South and North,) the Philippines, Borneo Formosa—reducing Japan to a subordinate status along with southern India as part of the Chinese co-prosperity empire. The analogy is Russia with the Baltic States of Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Ruma-

nia, Hungary, Albania, Austria with Greece and Turkey, and the Persian Gulf and Egypt with dominance over the Indian ocean.

The resources, human and natural, of this rich and vast area will support the Power system of the new Chinese empire.

What is India's part in this vision—that of humble hewers of wood and drawers of water for their yellow masters! Also, as soldiers to fight the Yellow man's wars with the Russian and Western national alliances and empires or groups!

If India does not change her effete and suicidal policy be times, *this or something like it* will be her fate in the years to come. To be aware of the Peril is to be prepared against it - in the patriot's book, in the statesman's book. This book has other pages than the one monotonous *mantra* of nonalignment. It has the main motive of national defence carried out by preparedness to the limit of free economy. Free economy is to be supplemented by the military and economic aid of friendly foreign nations who have aims similar to ours—whose diplomacy and national aims include our national independence.

The cold fact is that the national aims of Russia and China as communist nations are "international" in the perverted sense of being identical with world conquest or world hegemony or world empire, whatever the phraseology in which it may be couched. This is the meaning of international proletarianism. They claim to be the natural leaders and protectors of the working classes of *every* nation over the heads of their own elected governments! This is an imperitence and intervention that should never be countenanced.

It requires the legal banning of the communist parties in every free country, particularly in India. For democracy cannot be interpreted to be a *suicide pact*! It is entitled to and is required by the necessities of the case to protect its people by immobilising the communist parties in its midst as treacherous groups with extra-territorial loyalties.

India needs an immediate re-orientation of diplomacy if she is to survive in the present perilous crisis and meet the Chinese menace.

She should immobilise the CPI whether of the Russian brand or pro-Chinese brand immediately.

India should comb out the Lal Sena groups of guerilla bands under camouflage in Assam and Tripura and other border areas thoroughly, village by village. Villager-recruited police constables will not be able to do this job. Educated young men fired with patriotic zeal should be recruited for the national defence for this purpose.

Land hungry farmers should be settled along the borders from Ladakh to Assam and Burma each with sufficient land for the support of a family and equipped with draft cattle, small tractors, fertiliser supplies, clothes for the mountain climate, rifles and

(Continued on Page 8)

What Is Wrong With Groupism ?

By M. N. Tholal

Groups based on affinity of ideas, are inherent in a libertarian society. But in India, Congressmen including their great leader, Mr. Nehru, swear by democracy and by the dignity of the individual, and yet are almost unanimously out to kill groupism. The real trouble in our country is that differences are not debated to make the people realise that they are over. Democracy can ill flourish in countries, where the people do not have the courage to speak out their minds.

THERE has been so much condemnation of groupism by Congressmen, following its condemnation by the Prime Minister, that it is worth while examining what groupism is and whether it is essentially bad. In all democratic countries groups exist, based doubtless on affinity of ideas, and no one has ever tried to condemn them, acknowledging that they are inherent in a society based on liberty. There are groups in Communist countries also, but they are not tolerated -- they live dangerously -- even as they were not tolerated in fascist Germany and Italy. The dictator is there to give to the people the direction in which they ought to pull, and it is none of the business of the people to think for themselves. But here in India Congressmen, including their great leader, Mr. Nehru, swear by democracy and by the dignity of the individual, and yet are almost unanimously out to kill groupism. Can anything be more absurd or hypocritical?

The truth would appear to be that an attempt is being made to enthrone fascism in the Congress in the name of democracy. Mahatma Gandhi tried to do the same, but was balked, first by Deshbandhu Das and Pandit Motilal Nehru, and later by the latter's illustrious son, who is now our Prime Minister. But today there seems no one in the Congress who can take up the gauntlet thrown by Jawaharlal Nehru. There were great and far-seeing men in it but they all have left it, mostly for the reason that they found it hopeless to challenge Mr. Nehru successfully within the Congress, with the result that Mr. Nehru in the Congress today is like a one-eyed man among the blind, and thus their natural leader. Mr. Nehru does not like able men who think for themselves and give expression to their convictions. He likes the lap-dog type which looks up to the Master for everything, and he is going to have it to the exclusion of other types. That is what the Kamaraj Plan, as amended by Mr. Nehru, is intended for.

Those conversant with the history of the Congress know that there have always been groups in the Congress. The split in the Congress at Surat in 1907 was due to what is called groupism. Tilak was then described as the arch-offender, who had brought about the ruin of the Congress, built up in a quarter of a century. When the delegates arrived at Surat, Tilak got together delegates of his way of thinking in a separate camp. Attempts were made by Tilak to bring about a compromise between the Moderates and the Nationalists, who were the Leftists of those days, but they failed. The session witnessed a melee. Chairs were thrown and sticks brandished. Even a

shoe was hurled at the dais which grazed Surendranath Bannerjee and hit Sir Pherozeshah Mehta. The trouble arose because Tilak was not allowed to address the delegates on the proposal of the election of the President for the session, after it had been duly seconded. Tilak had a right to do so under the constitution, which gave the right to elect the President to the delegates.

The Moderates organised a convention and fixed a constitution for the Congress which practically excluded the Nationalists. In 1914 when there was an attempt to reunite the two wings of the Congress, Gokhale agreed first to such a reunion, but changed his mind afterwards. And no wonder, for it was only after the Surat split that Gokhale took a leading part in the Congress. Every one would admit that both Gokhale and Tilak were patriots of the highest order, and yet both were "guilty" of what is now called "groupism".

Jawaharlal Nehru himself belonged to a group in the late twenties, opposed to his own father. With Srinivas Iyengar he stood for independence at a time when his father used to say, "If I begin standing for independence today, Srinivas Iyengar would at once begin supporting Dominion status." I myself heard him say so. Later at the Calcutta Congress in 1928, Mr. Nehru had with Subhas Bose taken a stand against his own father who presided at the session and was threatening to resign if his stand was not approved by the Congress. Through the efforts of Gandhi a compromise was reached between the father and the son, but when the compromise resolution was taken up at the open Congress session, both Bose and Jawaharlal Nehru opposed it. Gandhi later severely criticised Mr. Nehru openly for going back on the compromise.

GANGING UP

What was it if not groupism--and unjustified at that--which made Motilal Nehru ignore a Hindu-Muslim settlement reached at the Madras Congress in 1927 as a result of the exertions of Srinivas Iyengar. It was the greatest piece of work any Congress leader ever did--for, as Jinnah used to say, "Hindu-Muslim unity is Swaraj"--and yet it was undone by no less a patriot than Motilal Nehru. The Agreement had been hailed by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya on one side and Jinnah and Maulana Mohammad Ali, on the other. What more could a patriot want? And yet it was brushed aside, almost treated as non-existent, and was followed by the Nehru Report, which proved to be an apple of discord. Even Gandhi took

no interest in the matter for Gandhi was away in England but presumably—the latter was away in England but Gandhi was present at the Madras Congress. Obviously, the Mahatma should have thrown his whole weight on the side of the Agreement, but he did not.

We all know that it was groupism—again unjustified—which led in 1937 to what the Muslim Leaguers with a great deal of justification, called “double-crossing”, when a purely Congress ministry was formed in U.P., although before the general election, which was run jointly by the U.P. Congress and the U.P. Muslim League, a coalition ministry had been agreed upon. The default proved calamitous as it led to the Muslim League demand for Pakistan. Even Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, in his *India Wins Freedom* blames Jawaharlal Nehru for this blunder. Gandhi was again wrong in not putting his foot down on the attempt to by-pass the gentlemen’s agreement between the Congress and the League of U.P., which would easily have brought the two together all over the country.

The triple crown placed on the head of J. M. Sengupta by Mahatma Gandhi—it consisted of the presidentship of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee, the leadership of the Bengal Congress Legislature Party and the Mayoralty of the Calcutta Corporation—ignoring Subhas Bose altogether, was one of the worst examples of groupism. Was it groupism or anti-groupism that made Jawaharlal Nehru come out of the prison in September 1935 with “Resist Wardha” on his lips? Never were two words more justified, but the fact remains that groupism was being attempted. That master tactician, the Mahatma, foiled the attempt by whispering to people that Jawaharlal was his “virtual successor”, and the latter forgot all about resisting Wardha. O tempora, O mores! Prime Minister Nehru’s attitude on the charges against Mr. Kairon is another glaring example of unjustified groupism. But that does not mean that groupism is always unjustified.

Groupism is bad if it is born of attachment or animosity to personalities, good if it is born of attachment to principles. No group is altogether bad and, vice versa, no group can be said to be altogether good. If a group becomes altogether or almost altogether bad, it will tend in course of time to fall apart and dissolve. And it cannot be altogether good because it is not in human nature to be wholly perfect. Even attachment to personalities is generally born of attachment to principles, when it is not due to the profit motive, as it can be said to be when a person is all-powerful and has it in his power to make men rich by the bestowal of jobs or licences or permits.

The Conservative Party of Britain, for example, has its groups—the Butler group, the Hailsham group, etc.—but they do not and cannot gang up against one another, because the members of the group are too patriotic to permit unpatriotic action which will redound to the discredit of the group, that again

because public opinion is too enlightened to permit anti-national or anti-social courses of action. This prevents careerism for personal gain and we see a man of the stature of Butler, losing the chance of becoming prime minister twice, without refusing to serve the Government under a new-comer.

The examples of groupism given above are extreme examples. They are instances really of ganging up against Tilak, against Srinivas Iyengar, against Subhas Bose, and ganging up, of course, should not be tolerated within parties. There is no reason why the leaders of groups within the party should not remain the best of friends conceding honesty to each other. Were not Gandhi and Srinivas Sastri the best of friends despite the great political gulf between them? The trouble in this country is that differences are not debated to make the people realise what the differences are over. This is due to the fact that there is too much fear of leaders who are cast in an undemocratic mould and resent criticism. Democracy can ill flourish in countries where the people do not have the courage to speak out their minds.

(Continued from Page 6)

ammunition for defence against wild animals and also for use against fifth columns when called upon. Ex-soldiers and their families should have the preference in this settlement programme. Volunteers from all areas, irrespective of stock, martial by inheritance or otherwise should be entertained. Volunteering is sufficient evidence of martial quality. Battalions as units can be allotted land blocks, also, as an additional plan.

Fruit orchards as well as plantations can be encouraged with suitable aid.

Elements from Ladakh, Punjab, Kashmir, North U.P., North Bihar, NEFA, North Assam, the Burma border such as the Nagaland areas should have these settlements.

Diplomacy should espouse the cause of Tibetan freedom in the UNO as a buffer. Russia and the USA and Britain should all be won over to this idea. Russia can be won over since she will *not* want China to be too powerful along her land frontier. India should also recognise Formosa as the true China and withdraw her Envoy from Peking and cut off diplomatic relations completely from China and declare her to be an *enemy country*. She should have the courage to call a spade a spade. The present wishy-washy position is demoralising as it continues the “Ehai Bhai” attitude in spite of the bloody aggression in Ladakh and NEFA. India should try to occupy the *military vacuum in South Asia* and undertake to take her fair share in the defence of the Free World. This is the condition that will win adequate aid from the USA and the Commonwealth.

Nehru's Coup D' Grace

(From Our Correspondent)

Although a paper on democratic socialism was approved for circulation among affiliated bodies, many Congress leaders at the last AICC meeting at Jaipur gave proof of the fact that they do not understand what democracy is. Even the members of the Congress Working Committee come under this category. For, an elaborate statement on the Kamaraj Plan, prepared by the Working Committee, warned Congressmen that "fissiparous tendencies revealing themselves in groupism and factionalism in the organisation would have to be put down promptly and with a heavy hand". Every one knows whose heavy hand it is going to be that will promptly put down the fissiparous tendencies revealing themselves in groupism and factionalism in the organisation.

It was not thought necessary to leave it to surmise. The Working Committee's paper, Mr. Desai said, suggested frequent consultations between the organisational and parliamentary wings of the Party. To that end, he added, the High Command was thinking of steps to be taken against those who indulged in indiscipline, and necessary committees consisting of representatives of both sides — the ministerial and the organisation — and the Parliamentary Board were being set up in the states. Obviously, the representatives of the Parliamentary Board will decide by tilting the balance against the wing that is not absolutely loyal to the High Command.

All power would thus automatically pass into the hands of the High Command and the latter would exercise the same in the name of the committees which are being set up. It is thus obvious that the Kamaraj Plan provides the iron hand and the objective of democratic socialism the velvet glove which will hide the iron hand from public view. No wonder Mr. Nehru spoke so highly of Mr. Kamaraj — whose straightforward plan he has twisted and transformed for his personal benefit — as a great and good man whose place is assured for all time not only in the history of the Congress but also of the country".

Thus the Kamaraj Plan is clearly a fascist instrument in the hands of Mr. Nehru to strengthen his own hands and make him absolute dictator, and a paper on democratic socialism had to be prepared to cover up the intention behind implementation of the Kamaraj Plan..

Let us see what Mr. Desai's conception of democracy is. Some, he said, carried on the whispering campaign that some leaders were conspiring to oust Mr. Nehru from leadership. He added amid

cheers that nothing would be more idiotic and senseless on the part of any Congressman than to harbour such a notion. Why? Is Mr. Nehru the repository of all wisdom in the world? Why should not Congressmen, if they are democrats, have the right to propagate the view that Mr. Nehru should be ousted from leadership, without being called idiots and senseless? He also said it was mischievous to categorise Congressmen as Leftists and Rightists, for Congressmen were all Congressmen wedded to Congress policies. But, surely, even thus wedded they can be Leftists and Rightists and that too legitimately. Mr. Desai also said that those who talk of groups and Right and Left should be dealt with a heavy hand. It certainly shows the way the wind is blowing in the Congress.

Mr. Harideo Joshi, the Rajasthan PCC President, went so far as to say that the Kamaraj Plan had enthused the rank and file of Congressmen and workers and had proved that India's millions had full confidence and faith in Mr. Nehru's leadership. He is obviously one of those who feel somewhat alarmed at what happened immediately on the implementation of the Kamaraj Plan and say guardedly that it is too early to judge the Plan: He also said that the common man in India felt and "rightly so" that the personality of Mr. Nehru was more influential and powerful than many a division of the Army. Perhaps he means to imply that non-alignment, like the nonviolence of old, is the mightiest power on earth. We have already seen some of its power.

The resolution on the Kamaraj Plan adopted unanimously by the AICC on November 3 listed, among other things, discipline and removal of groupism as needing special attention. Removal of groupism implies removal of differences of opinion. The question arises: Whose opinions are then going to be held by all? The answer is obvious. And discipline is necessary to enforce uniformity of opinion. Clearly therefore an attempt is being made to turn India into a totalitarian state. Mr. Sanjivayya said that in essence the Kamaraj Plan was intended to inculcate in the minds of Congressmen feelings of service and devotion to the organisation to which they all belong. He could have more truly that it was intended — after its amendment by Mr. Nehru — to inculcate in the minds of Congressmen feeling of service and devotion to Mr. Nehru. Congressmen should now all be Haris. Hari was a domestic servant of the Nehrus who became a member of the U.P. Legislative Assembly after getting a Congress ticket. I am not aware that Hitler or Mussolini, even in the heyday of their

dictatorship, ever had their domestic legislatures of their lands. (Mr. Nehru's typist is a Congress M.P.)

Nevertheless there was some frank and outspoken criticism. Mr. Mahavir Tyagi considered it an "unprecedented and unnatural step" taken by the High Command "to force the Chief Ministers of States to take into their Cabinets dissidents in whom the Chief Ministers lacked confidence" and he asked whether the High Command wanted a cabinet or a federation in the states. He might have put it more bluntly and said that the High Command was fishing in troubled waters. He almost hinted that when he said he wanted the High Command to look into things with an introspective eye and "see whether the fault did not lie with them". The motive behind the Kamaraj Plan was made almost obvious by Seth Govind Das when he complained that, while dissidents were consulted by the Congress High Command in U.P. and Behar before the formation of ministries there, the same principle was not applied in the case of Madhya Pradesh. What then happened in C.P. to the principle enunciated by Mr. Nehru at Jaipur in his declaration that the Congress High Command had to intervene in the formation of ministries because it was anxious that the complexion of the entire party was reflected in the ministry and the right people were included in it on the basis of merit and not on the basis of personal allegiance to a person or group?

The Urdu verse Mr. Tyagi recited was a telling piece, the most appropriate line in it being, "Yaron ke sar kata diye Sardar bangaye". (Became the leader by cutting off colleagues' heads.) But steps to dictatorship are always taken on the bodies of colleagues. Mahatma Gandhi acknowledged Gokhale as his master but the first thing that he did on becoming a Congress leader was to drive away Gokhale's disciples from the Congress and even make it impossible for them to return to the Congress! (That is why this correspondent has been saying that Mr. Nehru is a true disciple of Mahatma Gandhi.) Prime Minister Bakhshi's was the most candid comment on the Kamaraj Plan when, pleading for more people retiring under the Plan, he quoted an Urdu poet to say, "Ham to doobey hain, Sanam, tujhko bhi le doobeyge". ("We have sunk but we shall take you down with us.") At least one of the retiring Chief Ministers has had the courage to equate retirement from office with "sinking" and to give expression to his natural intentions thereafter. But it was left to Mr. Amarnath Vidyalankar to put his finger on the ailing spot when he accused the Congress High Command of lending ears to backbiting which, he said, had encouraged group and faction mongers in the party. He also exposed the Plan saying that, although 12 top men had left their posts, thought had not yet been given to the work they were to do!

INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

The AICC also adopted a resolution on international affairs affirming India's firm resolve to

Rajasthan Chief Minister Mohanlal Sukhadia, seconding the resolution, said that India could never tolerate aggression by either China or Pakistan. One wonders whether he knows that India has tolerated aggression by Pakistan for fifteen years. A man who does not know that, or can forget it, can also vehemently defend the policy of non-alignment.

Mr. Krishna Menon, who remains an authority on foreign affairs, said that even in the worst situation India could never negotiate with China and Pakistan on the basis of surrendering our territory. But is not our offer of a no-war pact to Pakistan as good as negotiation on the basis of surrendering our territory? Mr. Menon also said that the policy of non-alignment had stood the test of both peace and wartime. It certainly has, if we forget the aggression by China, and Mr. Menon seems to have forgotten it or is prepared to forget it.

Mr. Raghunath Singh of U.P., moving an amendment, wanted the resolution to protest strongly against the repression of Buddhists in South Viet-nam. Mr. Nehru described the amendment as "irresponsible" in the present context of a coup there and said it was highly improper to move such an amendment. But where lay the irresponsibility or the high impropriety? If the repression or suppression of Buddhists is condemnable, it should be condemned — at any rate any attempt to do so should not be termed irresponsible or highly improper unless the Congress has decided to say god-bye to ethics. As for the qualification "in the context of the coup", which was obviously pro-Buddhist, as it should have been under the situation, the amendment by implication approved the policies of the Government, which had already released Buddhists, and there was nothing offensive in the amendment against the regime, while the old regime had already been condemned with Mr. Nehru's approval by the Congress Parliamentary Party's executive. Mr. Nehru's high-handed intervention in the debate only shows the irresponsible manner in which he sometimes intervenes in debates.

The resolution referred to the recent historic march of U.S. Negroes in their struggle for equality. Was that march more historic than the burning of their live bodies by Buddhist monks? Mr. Subramanian, who moved the resolution, naturally could not, after Mr. Nehru's vehement intervention, accept Mr. Raghunath Singh's amendment. He put down his refusal to the "fast-changing situation there". But the debate took place on November 4 and the coup was over on November 2. Where then was the "fast-changing situation"? This is another example of how Mr. Nehru carries the day with his high-handedness, and yet there is no one in the world who condemns fear more than Mr. Nehru. Does he think the manner in which he sometimes intervenes in debates is not calculated to excite fear? Or does he condemn fear so often because he exploits the cowardice of Congressmen?

GUIDED DEMOCRACY

By SHRIMATI PREMA NANDAKUMAR

'Guided Democracy'; 'National Front'; 'Economic Democracy' — many of these words have a familiar ring. 'Newspeak', 'double-think' are alarming forces in the modern world. Words can be misused and reiterated often enough till the less appears the better reason, and Big Brother beams like Benevolence, and Dictator dons the great democrat's cap. As for 'Socialism', the Nazis were Socialists, and the Communists are Socialists too; so why should not Indonesians also be Socialists if they want? As Dr. Sukarno sees it, Socialism is simply the extension of the 'family system'; the whole nation becomes a family.

BURSTING with good intentions, the UNESCO have started the "Major Project on Mutual Appreciation of Eastern and Western Cultural Values"; and as a part of this major project, the 'Orient-Occident Week' was celebrated (presumably with subsidies from the UNESCO) in all the major (for only 'major' can respond to 'major') Indian Universities towards the end of September. The celebrations took the form of India-Indonesia Mutual Appreciation in Waltair, and no less a person than Dr. Ch. Anwar Sani of the Indonesian Embassy was present to highlight the exercise in Mutual Appreciation. There were lectures, film shows, music concerts, and a symposium, an exhibition, a catechism, and even a quiz. Indeed, a tight programme for a full week. Waltair Uplands must have been overflowing with the milk and honey of orient-occident mutual appreciation. The programme ended with a lucid lecture on the Gandhian Ethic by Prof. M. V. Moorthy and a spate of Indonesian music.

Which of the two participating countries (India and Indonesia) was *occident*, and which *orient*? Or, since both India and Indonesia are blissfully non-aligned in the Nehru-Menon way, are the terms 'occident' and 'orient' strictly irrelevant? Or might it not be that when the hectic pairing was done at 'headquarters', the occident-orient couples were all exhausted, and the two oriental countries — India and Indonesia — were left to conduct some sort of dialogue (or two independent parallel monologues) on hospitable Waltair? Perhaps we are too curious in these matters; perhaps the meaning of terms doesn't matter at all, so long as some idle chatter of a transcendental kind can ensue and inundate the hearers.

From reports and from my own experience of attending some of the lectures, I have the uncomfortable feeling that the 'celebrations' didn't exactly promote mutual appreciation. On the very first day, there was some misunderstanding as to whether the vast sheet of water traditionally known as the Indian Ocean shouldn't more appropriately be called the Indonesian Ocean. There were subdued murmurs of dissent in the excellent discourse on 'The Cultural Unity of South East Asia' by Dr. O. Ramachandraya. The Principal made an odd (though casual) reference to Indonesia's 'militant' attitude. All the same, considering the explosive material for dissent available, the proceedings were tolerant enough.

I must, however, refer more in detail to Dr. Ch.

Anwar Sani's second lecture, the subject of which was the political situation in Indonesia. Dr. Sani was speaking, he said, in his individual capacity and not as the official representative of Indonesia; but there was no doubt he was speaking with knowledge and authority. The upshot of the speech was that Dr. Sukarno was, is, and must be the life, mind, heart and soul of Indonesia. In June 1945, Dr. Sukarno enunciated the "five principles" that should guide the future Indonesian State: 1. Nationalism (rather than the narrower localism); 2. Internationalism (rather than the chauvinistic brand of nationalism); 3. Democracy (of the traditional type: i.e., governed, not by majority decisions, but by unanimous decisions); 4. Social Justice (in other words, a broadly egalitarian order); and 5. Belief in one Supreme God. These 'principles' underwent some processing before they were embodied in the Jakarta Charter of 22 June 1945 as belief in the one God, just and civilised humanity, Indonesian Unity, democracy, and social justice. After the capitulation of Japan, there followed the declaration of Indonesian Independence; and the preamble to the Constitution of the Republic more or less reiterated the 'principles' enunciated in the Jakarta Charter. It was stressed that the 'five principles' were really of an interlocking character, and the real task then was to reach a final agreement with the Dutch authorities. Holland 'recognised' the Republic in 1949, and next year the 'United States of Indonesia' were replaced by United Indonesia. Even so, the importation of the Western parliamentary system of 'government by political parties' led to frequent changes in government, chronic uncertainty in the political landscape, and the growth of fissiparous tendencies. The idea of 'guided democracy' mooted first by Dr. Sukarno in 1956, did not then prove acceptable to the political parties; but, after the abortive rebellion in Sumatra and elsewhere in 1958, 'guided democracy' was again offered as the panacea, and the presidential decree of July 1959 took the country back — so to say — to 18 August 1945 and the Five Principles and Dr. Sukarno's supreme and permanent overlordship. And Indonesia has been enjoying the blessings of 'guided democracy' during the last 4 or 5 years.

Dr. Sani did his best to explain the concept of Indonesian 'guided democracy'. Is 'guided democracy' but veiled dictatorship? No. Is 'guided democracy' a new universal solvent of all political ills? No again; "guided democracy is not for export". What, then, is the *raison d'être* for 'guided demo-

cracy? Dr. Sani said that since democracy without guidance led to chaos, and guided democracy led to dictatorship, Indonesia (under Dr. Sukarno's enlightened leadership) had opted for *both* guidance and democracy. "It is good for us", he said disarmingly, and added: "I don't know whether it will be good for others". Of course, we see 'guided (or basic) democracy' in action, not only in Indonesia, but also in Ghana, the United Arab Republic, Pakistan, and many other Afro-Asian countries. In India we have so far reached only the Kamaraj stage of guided resignations and guided 'unanimous elections'. Luckily we are so much preoccupied with the practice of the Yoga of Non-Alignment to have either the time or the inclination to experiment with 'guided democracy'.

There is, then, the phenomenon of Indonesian Socialism adjusted to the ethos of 'guided democracy'. Didn't dear old Stanley Baldwin say, "We are all socialists now-a-days?" The Nazis were national socialists, and the Communists are socialists too; so why shouldn't the Indonesians also be socialists if they want? As Dr. Sukarno sees it, socialism is simply the extension of the 'family system'; the whole nation becomes a family — one and all must work to create wealth for the enjoyment of one and all. The dynamics of Indonesian socialism would seem to comprise, firstly, peaceful methods; secondly, the proliferation of the family principle; thirdly, the elimination of 'superhuman' and 'subhuman' complexes in society; and fourthly, a sense of togetherness in work and division of results. Dr. Sani, however, admitted that 'nice' though these principles may be, there is still the paramount need to reckon with human nature. During 1950-57 (the years of party democracy) corruption had made rapid progress and seeped to the remotest ends. More recently, and especially after the expropriation of Dutch interests, Indonesian economy has been showing signs of recovery. Dr. Sani seemed to think that the extension of statism, radical land reform, the education of the people in skills and attitudes (especially *independent* attitudes) and the mobilisation of a 'national front' should help Indonesia to achieve in "5 or 10 years" the blessings of socialistic prosperity. Have we the needed resources? Yes. Have we the needed man power? Yes. But what is lacking, then? The right mental attitude and the development of the requisite inner discipline — these are yet to emerge firmly. Meanwhile steady 'indoctrination' (the word is Dr. Sani's, and he repeated it with emphasis more than once) is going on. And what the shape of the future is going to be — "I don't know".

'Guided democracy'; 'five principles'; 'statism'; 'national front'; 'economic democracy'; 'indoctrination'; 'right attitude'; 'inner discipline' ... many of these words have a familiar ring. 'Newspeak', 'doublethink' and 'wordfact' are alarming forces in the modern world. Words can be misused and reiterated often enough till the less appears as the better reason, and Big Brother beams like Benevolence, and Dictator dons the great democrat's cap. For another view of contemporary Indonesia, I may

quote a few sentences from an article by Paul Johnston in the *New Statesman* of 25 May 1962:

"Djakarta is a frightening and sinister city. Nobody will go there except on inescapable business... Indonesia is running downhill at a terrifying speed... The black market value of the rupiah is now 1,000 to the pound, against an official rate of 125.... The writ of the government is no longer effective outside the capital (and not always within it)... the country's eight year plan, introduced in 1961, which is based on a calculation of export earnings, bears no relation to what is actually happening... it is pointless to enter into the labyrinth of Indonesian statistics, many of which exist only in the minds of those who compile them. Certainly they cause no loss of sleep to President Sukarno...."

Happy Sukarno! Be the conditions what they may, he has built (with a Soviet loan) the largest Asian Stadium complex (where last year's Asian Games were held) and a skyscraper hotel (comparable to our own Ashoka); and he has got West Irian. Happy Sukarno!

Book Review

WILHELM Roepke's *Economics of the Free Society* (Regnery, \$4.95, translated by Patrick M. Boarman).

Reviewed By J. Chamberlain

Released for German readers after the war, *Economics of the Free Society* presumably played some part in guiding Roepke's disciple, the Bonn government's Minister of Economics Dr. Ludwig Erhard, in the sparking of what has been called the "German miracle." Dr. Erhard has praised Roepke as "a great witness to the truth." This truth, as Erhard sees it, consists of a doctrine that calls for "freedom in the realm of goods, discipline in the realm of money." The quotation is from *Economics of the Free Society*, but the identical bit of wisdom, phrased in various ways, is to be found in all of Roepke's books. "Free goods," of course, refers to free choice in the market, not to any giveaways.

Building on the "free goods, disciplined money" idea, the West German government made it possible "in a few years for a war-devastated rump state, swollen with refugees, whose cities had been destroyed to the extent of 50 per cent and more, to develop a 'hard,' fully convertible currency, to become the chief creditor of Europe, and finally, even to be found worthy of helping the leading power of the free world, the United States, out of its balance of payments difficulties with credits of one kind or another. German foreign trade, after having fallen to zero during and after the war, expanded within a decade to the point where Germany assumed the number two position in world trade (after the U.S.). Later,

Japan — using the same recipes — achieved similar results.

Aside from its verbal felicity, *Economics of the Free Society* differs from other basic texts in its insistence that economic activity always takes place in a moral and legal context. To have a functioning free international system, nations must subscribe to common legal, monetary, and moral values. If such values exist and have wide acceptance, a UN will work. But, by the same token, a UN in such circumstances would be largely superfluous. On the other hand, a UN whose members do not accept congenial ideas about legality, morality, or monetary standards and practices will be a place of bickering and attempted bullying. In short, it will be a place of battle-short-of-war. Part of Roepke's life crusade for the truth has been the effort to reconstitute the fabric of international society that existed in the West before the two world wars of the twentieth century. He is tired of a perpetual battle-short-of-war.

Carrying through with his insistence that a good economics system depends on its moral and legal framework, Roepke compares the views of two giants of economic theory, Adam Smith and John Maynard Keynes. Smith, at the dawn of the modern era, viewed economics as an organic part "of the larger whole of the intellectual, moral, and historical life of society." Keynes, coming in the twilight of the humanistic age when a "mathematical-mechanical universe" was being substituted for Smith's "living order" under an "invisible hand," was a "representative of the geometric spirit." Where Smith thought in terms of freeing men, Keynes thought in terms of manipulating them as one would manipulate statistics to make a desired point.

Where Smith's values result in a society in which enterprisers try to combine the factors of production in the most efficient — i.e., economical — manner, Keynes's values lead directly to arbitrary selection and the rule of force. Roepke does not deny that force can accomplish things. But it does so wastefully, and with terrible frictions. "Equilibrium" is established in "command societies" by such things as killing off kulaks, or putting old-fashioned liberals into concentration camps, or building walls and stringing up barbed wire to keep a slave labor force from escaping. "Command societies" can put sputniks into orbit, just as they can employ armies of human ants to build pyramids, but while the sputniks spin aloft, 50 per cent of the "commanded" population will be standing in the furrows of inefficient collective farms to watch the passage of one or two favoured birdmen through the skies. The "command society" does not know how to combine factors of production into a harmoniously functioning whole, for it has no rational methods of calculation at its disposal.

When Roepke was writing *Economics of the Free Society*, the world was worried about the "deadening" implications of mass production. And, quite in keeping with the spirit of the nineteen thirties this book retains its author's old fears of a "proletarianized, centralized, mass-type society." We must, he says, have a "policy—going beyond cyclical policy—which seeks

to bring about the "activity and instability" of our mass society "through decentralization, de-proletarianization, the anchoring of men in their own resources, encouragement to small farmers and small business, increased property ownership, and the strengthening of the middle classes." Dell, Roepke is right in fearing "proletarianization" and "centralization." But do his fears apply in countries that have passed through the earlier phases of mass production?

Meanwhile, in spite of centralizing politics, other individuals in America fight to be themselves. Freed by automation from production line "serfdom," the true individual becomes a hotel keeper, a garage proprietor, a true surgeon. He buys a boat, he joins a bowling league, he takes up camping or fishing or skating or skiing or curling. He becomes a leisure-time student, one of the twenty-five million Americans who, according to a survey made recently by the National Opinion Research Center of the University of Chicago, are taking adult education courses in something or other.

Thus it is entirely possible that Roepke's fears of "bigness" and "mass" and "proletarianization" are misplaced. One wishes he would have a second go at his section on what he calls "the third road."

—Condensed from *The Freeman*

The Mind of the Nation

THE THIRD ALTERNATIVE

It is necessary to examine the implications of Earl Russell's hypothetical question. The question presupposes that the free world has to choose between being red and being dead, and that the former is a lesser evil since in the course of time the colour is bound to fade away and turn into pink. Incidentally, there is a secondary presupposition in this reasoning which needs being explicitly stated. It is to the effect that being red first and then turning pink over a period of a century is preferable also to not turning red at all. In other words, a 'temporary' communization of the world is better than its slow evolution into a social democracy of the type that distinguishes the Scandinavian countries or the U.K. It is on the basis of some such reasoning, never stated clearly, that Earl Russell indulges in an unseemly attack on Mr. Morarji Desai.

To come back to the major presupposition of Earl Russell's advice, how far is it true that free men have no choice besides being red or being dead? If the experience of the last twelve years is taken into account if becomes clear that aggressive communism is neither invincible nor incapable of containment — provided the free world is firm and united in its determination to remain free. In other words, besides the two alternatives formulated by Earl Russell there also is a third practicable alternative as shown by the example of Western Europe, the U.S. and even tiny Taiwan, the Malaysia. If India has had a different experience, that was because her leaders were incapable of clear thinking and uninhibited action. Mr. Nehru was never reputed for

being a logician, nor did he ever claim that honour. But surely one like Earl Russell ought to have thought of this third alternative before ordinary men and women adopted it almost instinctively in many parts of the non-communist world. In any case, he should be able to see it now.

—The Radical Humanist

News & Views

FREE WORLD SECURITY IS U. S. SPACE AIM

President Kennedy again has made clear that the objective of the United States space programme is the security of the free world, and not just getting a man to the moon and back ahead of the Soviet Union.

The U. S. space effort, the President said at a recent press conference, is not determined by a so-called moon race with the Soviets. It is rather a question of acquiring the technical competence to develop the peaceful uses of outer space and prevent anyone from using it for military purposes.

This has been a major objective of the Kennedy Administration for some time. Last year, for instance, the President pointed out that "space science like nuclear science and all technology, has no conscience of its own. Whether it will become a force for good or ill depends on man. Only if the U.S. occupies a position of pre-eminence can we help decide whether this new ocean will be a sea of peace or a terrifying theatre of war."

RED CHINESE TROOPS REVOLT

TAIPEH: Communist soldiers stationed in Haifeng village in the mainland province of Kwantung, killed 20 officers and fellow soldiers in a revolt in July last, the official Central News Agency reported.

According to the report, the revolt was provoked by punishment of soldier who had expressed discontent with the communist regime in letters to their families.

The soldiers, the report said, first raised a false alarm of air raid at about midnight on July 27 and as men came running out of their quarters, opened up on them with machine guns, killing 20 officers and soldier and wounding scores more.

The report did not give the number involved in the revolt. It said that the rebels had later joined the guerillas with their weapons.

FREEDOM MUST BE DEFENDED — BOWLES

"Freedom will remain a myth unless we are always prepared to defend it," emphasised U.S. Ambassador Chester Bowles in Chandigarh. "My country took more than a century and a half to learn this lesson; the Chinese made it clear to India last fall."

Mr. Bowles made these remarks while addressing a gathering of prominent citizens, educators and students at an Educational and Cultural Week held at Panjab University.

"You are wise", noted Ambassador Bowles, "not to become so preoccupied with military strength that the job of building a new and prosperous India is

neglected. The freedom of a country will be basically assured by what is done within that country to make freedom meaningful to all the people."

A Warning

He warned, however, that freedom cannot always be achieved or preserved by hard work and good will alone. Sometimes it must be fought for.

MAO & CHOU EFFIGIES BURNT IN PAK- OCCUPIED KASHMIR

SRINAGAR: In Pakistan-occupied Kashmir, effigies of Mao Tse-Tung, Chou-En-Lai and some Pakistani leaders have been burned several times following reports that Chinese Communists have loosened a reign of terror in Muslim-populated Sinkiang.

The movement against Pakistan's collaboration with China has been organised by leading Muslim Ulemas not only in occupied-Kashmir but in West Pakistan as well.

Reports reaching here say that several Muslim religious organizations in occupied Kashmir have sent protests to President Ayub Khan, for collaborating with Chinese Communists who have given a blood-bath to the Muslim province of Sinkiang.

These protest notes have sarcastically asked, "Is this the way the world's biggest Muslim country, Pakistan, is serving Islam?"

Posters have condemned Chinese Communists for destroying mosques and shrines in Sinkiang.

These organisations have used posters and pamphlets which have poured ridicule on Foreign Minister Bhutto who early this year went to Peking to sign the hated agreement to delimit the borders of Pak-occupied Kashmir and China.

Bhutto has been asked to resign because he wants Pakistan to be friendly with godless China, which is repugnant to Islam.

Reports say that the Pakistan army is guarding mosques in occupied territory because Ulemas (theologians) speak from pulpits condemning Pakistan for collaborating with Communists, the "main enemies of Islam."

Pakistan is also reported to have arrested several Ulemas for the "seditious" activity of condemning China and the Sino-Pakistan border agreement. Apart from the Ulemas, political workers including students and servicemen have been arrested.

ALIGARH TO TEACH IN ENGLISH

ALIGARH: Aligarh Muslim University has decided to make English the medium of instruction.

More than 80 per cent of the students in the University are science or engineering students.

The Academic Council has decided that the papers set for the University examinations will have to be answered in English.

During the 1963-64, however, Part I and Part II students of the three-year degree Course have been permitted to answer sessional and other examination papers in Hindi, Urdu or English. It will, however, be incumbent on all students to answer at least 25 per cent of all papers at the sessionals in English.

Mr. S. K. Patil said in Bombay on Friday that only through eternal vigilance on the part of the people could democracy resist the imposition of all "limitations and regimentations."

He was speaking on "How Democratic is our Democracy?" at a meeting held under the auspices of the Indian Council of Work Affairs at the Tata Auditorium, Bombay House.

An unprecedented gathering which packed the spacious hall to capacity and spilled into the adjoining corridors listened to Mr. Patil in alternating bouts of pin-drop silence and deafening cheers.

Mr. Patil said as a private citizen he would not like for India the type of dictatorial socialism which flourished in Russia and China.

Russian socialism and Chinese socialism might be all right for Russia and China, "but surely all of us should be allowed to choose our own form of democracy".

He said it was not only what was enshrined in the Indian Constitution but also in an individual's day-to-day life that democracy had to function unhindered and untrammelled and anything or anybody who sought to stand in the way of its unfettered growth should be removed, he said amidst loud cheers.

WHY R.B.I. COLLECTS DATA ON BANK SHARES

The Staff Correspondent of 'Current' writes:—

While Mr. Nehru, at his press conference, brushed aside Current's story on the possibility of banks being nationalised with the remark: "Don't believe what you read in Current", the Reserve Bank of India has sent a circular to scheduled banks, asking them to furnish information about the ownership of bank shares as on October 31, 1963.

According to a report in the "Financial Express" (Nov. 7)—a paper of Press lord Ramnath Goenka, a close friend of the present Finance Minister, Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari—"Banks have been asked to give data about the ownership of the bank shares held by banks, general insurance, investment and industrial companies and other companies and statutory corporations, like the Life Insurance Corporation.

"The data, which have to be supplied by the middle of November, include the number and the paid up value of shares.

"The Reserve Bank has not so far published any documents relating to the ownership of bank shares, and this is for the first time that RBI is collecting information regarding corporate holding of bank shares".

Strange coincidence, isn't it?

FOREIGN DEBT BURDEN HAMPER PROGRESS

BANGKOK: The economic development has been hampered by their growing burden of foreign debt". According to a communique released at the end of the Colombo Plan Ministerial conference.

"Some developing countries have reached a stage at which the growing burden of foreign debt imposes severe limitations on their capacity to borrow

further and thus to press ahead with economic development.

"Many of these countries are obliged to devote a substantial proportion of current foreign exchange earnings to the services of foreign debt," it said.

The communique said agriculture appeared to be the "most sluggish and resistant and rapid growth" in countries of the Colombo Plan region."

Although there had been an average annual increase in production of about three per cent over the past decade for the region, rising population had absorbed two-thirds of this increase.

BRIGHT PICTURE

The communique gave a bright picture of the industrial development of the Colombo Plan territories.

"The industrial sector has shown considerable dynamism and continued to grow at a rate of about eight per cent per annum," it said.

The communique urged developing countries of the world to contribute to the expansion of trade opportunities of developing countries by reducing various artificial restraints such as high tariffs, import quotas and high internal taxes.

These restraints in effect "restrict economic growth opportunities in developing countries and are likely to result in wasteful allocation or under employment of the resources available to a country," the communique said.

THE UNCEASING FLIGHT FROM THE SOVIET ZONE

Not A Day Passes Without a Defiance of Terrors

In spite of the Berlin Wall and the reinforcement of the barricades and minefields along the zonal border between the Federal Republic of Germany and the Soviet Zone, the flight to freedom has not ceased.

The reports that follow show that not a day passes without an inhabitant of the Soviet Zone crossing over to West Berlin or to Federal territory or sacrificing himself or herself in the attempt to escape:

Oct. 30: A woman was attempting to cross the zonal border and escape to the Federal Republic of Germany near Kassel in the State of Hesse. She struck a mine laid by the Soviet-Zone rulers and was severely wounded. A 22-year-old teacher and his friend had better luck.

Oct. 31: A 53-year-old East-Berliner escaped to West Berlin.

Nov. 1: Two teen-agers escaped in a small boat across the Werra river which separates the Soviet Zone from the Federal Republic. On the same day, a 17-year-old lad crossed over the border into Lower Saxony.

Nov. 2: Three young persons successfully crossed the barbed wire barricade at a point on the zonal border of east Bavaria. Two clerks of the East-Berlin Transport Undertaking also succeeded in escaping to West Berlin.

Nov. 4: A Soviet-Zone policeman murdered a German while he was trying to escape to West Berlin by swimming across the river Spree.

Nov. 5: A 21-year-old soldier of the "People's Army" succeeded in fleeing to Lower Saxony in the Federal Republic.

ANNOUNCEMENT

We have a few back issues of "Freeman" a monthly journal published by the Foundation for Economic Education, U.S.A. They are available free on request to us. Requests for copies should be accompanied with 15 nP. stamps.

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GIFT OF THE MONTH

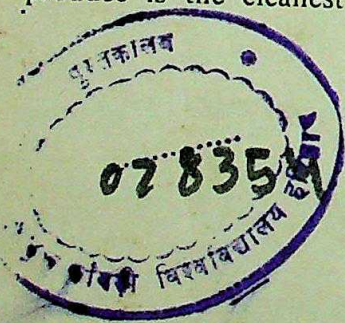
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